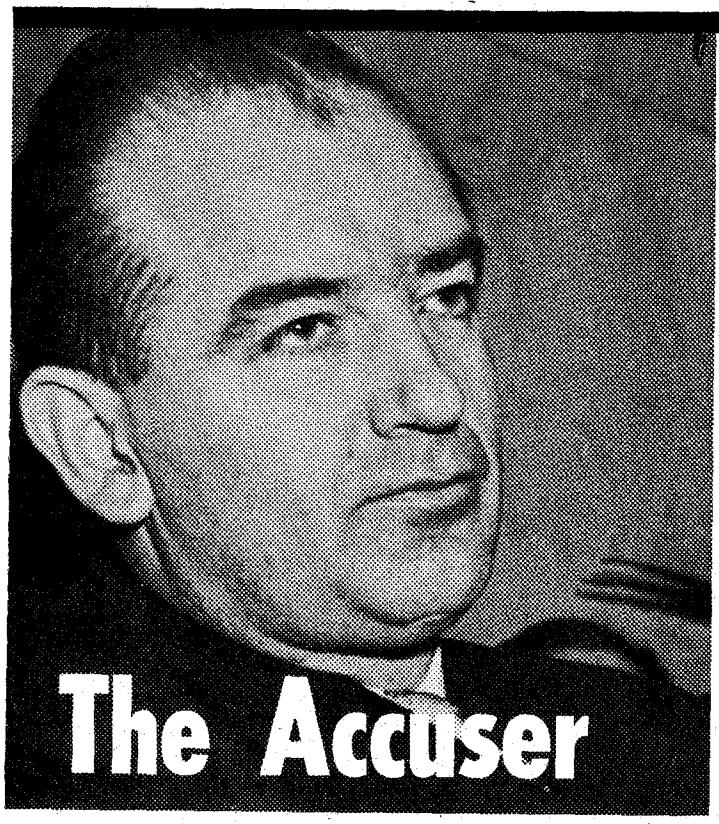
20c MAY 18, 1953

Keyserling on Robert Wagner

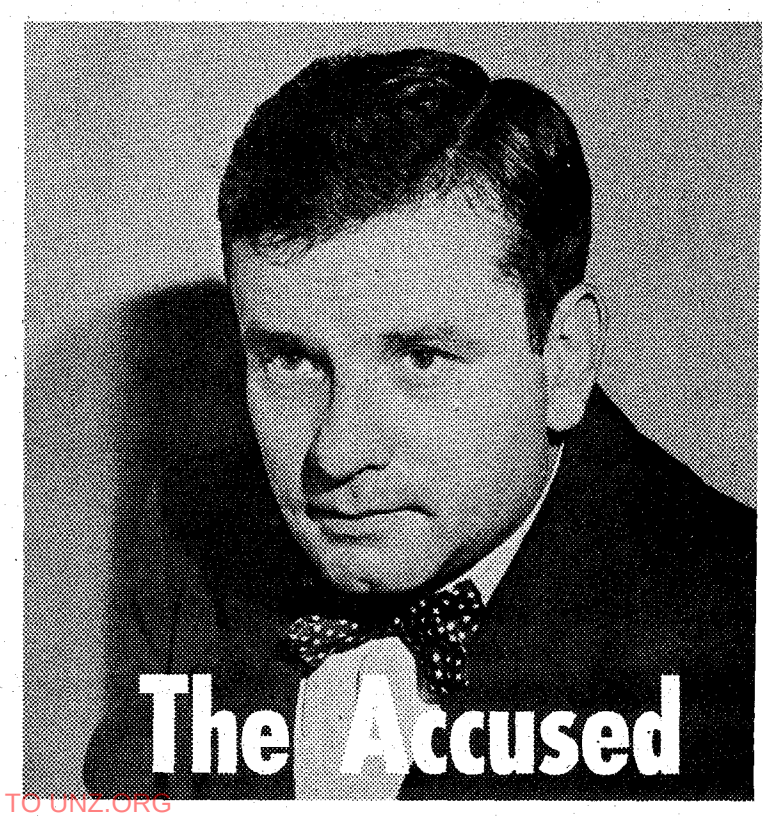
New Republic



The Accuser

Official Transcript

WHAT WECHSLER TOLD McCARTHY DURING CLOSED SENATE HEARING



The Accused

Also In This Issue

WILFRED BINKLEY
Decline of the Executive

FRANK GORRELL
Who Said Joe Died?

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EAST TENNESSEE
Johnson City, Tennessee
MAY 15 1953

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From Our Readers

A Two-Party South?

● I hope E. E. Schattschneider has not misread the meaning of the National Democratic Convention as it indicates "what is likely to be [the] new Southern policy" of the national Democratic Party. From Texas we see few signs of any realistic "new policy contemplating a two-party struggle for power in the South."

A deliberate post-election policy of discouraging grass-roots Democratic organization, at least in Texas, seem to belie Schattschneider's hopeful prediction about the national policy of the Democratic Party. The Republicans are also in a poor position to give a good account of themselves in a two-party struggle. The factions that opposed each other over candidates in 1952 now differ over the need to build a two-party system. National committeeman Jack Porter, with his state organization composed largely of newcomers to the Republican Party, has been kept immobilized by his knowledge that in the 1952 election the Texas "Democrats for Eisenhower" held the balance of power. President Eisenhower has dramatized this fact by respectful consultations with the Eisenhower Democrats' Washington spokesman, Sen. Price Daniel.

Before the 1952 convention Henry Zwiefel was the Republican national committeeman and manager of Taft's Texas campaign for the nomination. He had inherited and continued a policy of keeping the state party small, so that there would be no need to spread federal patronage too thin when the Republicans were in power in Washington. When Texas backers of Eisenhower began an amateurish, but popular and well-financed campaign to carry Republican precinct conventions for their candidate, Zwiefel made a desperate, but futile effort to rally the faithful and keep control of the party machinery. He was engulfed by enthusiastic Eisenhower contingents composed largely of people who had never before attended a convention of either party.

During the New Deal era the acquiescence of the Taft Republicans in the one-party system had been more than tacit. They had operated at the local level as a hard-headed minority, freely participating in Democratic primaries and often holding the balance of power between candidates for a Democratic nomination. This fact accounts for the Republican voting records of many Texas Congressmen who enjoyed all the privileges of membership in the majority party throughout the administrations of Roosevelt and Truman.

As soon as Eisenhower became the national candidate, the Texas Taft supporters, many of whom had made token campaigns for office during the lean years, began a movement to capitalize on the General's popularity by filing complete Republican slates for lesser offices. Their activity was squelched by the Eisenhower high command, which, like the Hoover organization in Texas six campaigns before, was nonpartisan and operated in private. Republicans either filed no candidates or cross-filed Democratic candidates for state and local offices.

All of which seems to suggest that, for Texas at least, Southern Bourbon is a stereotype which has outlived its usefulness. It no longer suggests the realities of political and economic control. Many determined Southern liberals are descended from the families that had square pianos and libraries before the Civil War and sent their sons, if not their daughters, to good universities. The really unreconstructed Rebels survive without influence. Thousands of decent, able descendants of ordinary Southerners, black and white, have become conscientious ministers, teachers, farm demonstration agents, and, since industrialization, leaders of their unions. But political and economic power is in the hands of descendants of poor whites who have been willing to wrap the Confederate flag around the interests of the Eastern corporations that exploit the people and the fabulously valuable resources of the South. . . .

The realities of Southern politics have actually had to do with national issues ever since the days of the Populists. The businessmen who manage local party organizations as departments of their Chambers of Commerce still value their investment in official positions in the Democratic Party more than their newly won influence as betrayers of that party to the Eisenhower organization. They will continue to operate in private as long as possible. They will do everything in their power to prevent the development of strong party organizations. . . .

The honest liberals and the honest reactionaries are still out of power, but our morale is good. Our national heroes, Stevenson and Taft, are strong personalities, each with a substantial following. We will yet build a two-party system. But we shall do it in spite of the present policies of the national leadership of both major parties.

Fort Worth, Tex. MRS. JACK CARTER

Conclusive Proof

● I note in the March 30 and April 6 issues, you devote considerable space in attacking McCarthy.

This is conclusive proof that the *New Republic* is definitely a Communist publication and, possibly in addition to that, a supplementary sheet of *Pravda*. From

(Continued on page 4)

To Our Readers

● One of the joys of editing a journal of opinion lies in a sense of communion with the people throughout this nation and the world, who share our values.

One of the dangers is that a journal of opinion tends to become restricted to readers who agree with its views.

But we and our readers change, and so disagreements arise. Generally they are helpful; often they are bitter. Disagreements may be bitter between enemies; they can be far more bitter among friends.

For if some black reactionary disagrees with us, that confirms our convictions, and reassures our egos. But if one who shares our assumptions challenges our conclusions, we are shaken and disturbed. It is painful to admit that we may be wrong. It is much easier to assume that the one who disagrees does so out of some unworthy emotion of which we are free.

After months in concentration camps, men imprisoned for common convictions often turned in hatred against themselves. Today's tensions and fears arouse in us the aggressiveness and intolerance that we once joined to oppose. We strike out, if we are challenged, to punish those who have undermined the uncertain base on which the closed mind constructs its myths.

The editor can ignore challenge, the reader can expunge it, and thereby deny that it exists. Aha! he cries. Sold out eh! Cancel my subscription! Refund the balance owed me! To these letters—and they come every day—I never knew how to reply until I found this poem on the back page of the *NR* of April 28, 1920:

There was a man
Who would brook no disagreement.
His idea of a conservative was one
In which all the replies consisted of
"You're right, Bill," "You said it."
When anyone ventured an opinion
With which he did not agree
He left him flat.
In the course of time he found himself
Without anyone to talk to.
Even his wife had her own ideas
On running the cream separator.
And the hired man
Was a convinced Baptist.
Our friend loved to talk
(When people agreed with him)
So
Evenings he would sit on the porch
And shout at the hillside,
"Prohibition, sir, is an infraction of man's God-given right."
And echo would answer,
"Right!"
And he was happy.
He subscribed once to the *New Republic*
But cancelled his subscription
Because it did not agree with his ideas
On the Peace Treaty.

M. S.

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New Republic

CONTENTS FOR MAY 18, 1953

5 A Clear and Present Danger
An Editorial

6 Senator Wagner: Government for the People, by Leon H. Keyserling

7 The Week:

7 The Oxbow Incident

7 What Ho Chi Minh Has Won

8 Who Said Joe Died?

9 Behind the Committee Doors

11 Austria—The Chance for Diplomacy, by Alexander Kendrick

13 The Decline of the Executive, by Wilfred E. Binkley

17 Literature and the Arts:

17 C. G. Jung, *Psychology and Alchemy*, by Kathleen Raine

18 Kingsley Martin, *Harold Laski*, by Perry Miller

19 E. K. Brown and Leon Edel, *Willa Cather*, and Edith Lewis, *Willa Cather Living*, by Willard Thorp

20 Reginald Pound, *Arnold Bennett*, by Irving Howe

21 Alva Johnston, *The Legendary Mizners*, by Bruce Bliven

22 R. F. Harrod, *Economic Essays*, by Robert Lekachman

23 Era of the 3-D's, by Parker Tyler

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WASHINGTON WIRE

THERE'S never been a time when this column should be easier to write, never one when we found it harder. Gaudy stories of Washington give-aways jump from every headline. Where to begin? If we put in this delicious morsel, we must omit the next. We can imagine the old Master — Mencken — rubbing his plump, deadly, nihilistic palms with sardonic relish at the examples of man's banalities in this capital where Ike, McCarthy and Taft all lie down together. What a lethal joy would come into those china blue eyes! How he roared in Harding's day at the exhibition of vacillation and smugness, Philistinism and vulgarity! He made the Baltimore *Sun* known the nation over as the goad of hypocrisy. We can imagine him licking his lips over the transcript that showed how James Wechsler, NY *Post* editor, tough and needle-sharp, stood up to McCarthy, stopped that blue-jowled bully in his tracks and made the issue of press freedom against intimidation so clear that even other editors felt a strange tingle in their sluggish livers and came up shouting. But Mencken's own Baltimore *Sun?* Oh dear me, no! It refers the matter to the American Society of Newspaper Editors; it will not take sides on the matter, it says, "We make no attempt to prejudge the issue." Mencken would blanch at that, we imagine; then hold his sides in purging laughter at his old friend, *Boobus Homo.*

Let's run down the roster a minute: Sinclair Weeks, for example, the Secretary of Commerce who wants this to be an AD-X2 Businessman's Administration—he would be an ideal foil for Mencken. Weeks threw out Bureau of Standards Director Astin; has now temporarily reinstated him. Here's what Weeks told the Republican Middlesex Club in Boston, February 12, attacking his critics: "They complain because the new government no longer gives high priority to the theories of foreign Socialists or to the notions of local egg-heads." And so . . . out goes "egg-head" Astin; in comes AD-X2 Weeks.

Secretary McKay of the Interior Department, small, agile, bubbling, is worth considering. Challenged on a statement he was reading before a Congressional committee, he astonished Representatives by saying, "I didn't write that part; if it's wrong, throw it away," and proceeded as blandly as before. At his first press conference reporters pointed out inconsistencies in his comment. With easy aplomb he said, "I'm all tangled up," then turning to his staff appealed for help in getting out of his hole. This cheerful little man has just reversed national policy on the billion dollar Hell's Canyon Dam power-reclamation project.

Mencken would love McKay. And he would have roared with delight at the egg-walking feat of Dulles last week before the tariff-dominated House Ways and Means Committee whose ancient GOP chairman, Rep. Daniel Reed (N.Y.) publicly holds that the detested Reciprocal Trade Act is the work of Alger Hiss. This is a lovely Menckenesque situation—the world cannot recover unless it trades with America, but Ike is committed to using nothing but sweetness and light in leading Congress to sanity—whether he is dealing with McCarthy or Reed. Dulles put on one of the most fascinating and diverting shows we have ever seen. One after another he repudiated three subordinates who had made rousing, honest outside speeches for lower tariffs, explaining they did not speak for the Administration but were only voicing personal opinions. Then he made his own plea for one year extension of the Reciprocal Trade Act in mealy-mouthed fashion.

We could go on like this at length with the ghost of Mencken chuckling over our shoulder. But it is not the big things that are most entertaining, it is

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the host of little things. Mrs. Oveta Culp Hobby, Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, told her initial press conference "first things must come first" so she is cutting down health, education and welfare expenditures. Ike's campaign promise for early action to extend Social Security is among the things shelved. But here is another little item not mentioned at that time. Shelved also is the Food and Drug Administration's program to protect consumers from rodent and insect-invested grain. As the *Wall Street Journal* put it, "The action apparently was taken on the demands of the grain industry." The Commodity Credit Corporation, you see, will have title to perhaps half a billion bushels of wheat by July 1, and if this huge supply were submitted to inspection, as columnist Peter Edson puts it, "some might be found buggy." Seriously now, who can blame the Administration? The GOP Great Crusade is committed to economy and the elimination of bureaucratic interference. If money is to be saved, who among us can object if some of the wheat we eat is defiled with a modicum of weevils, insect droppings and cockroach fat? Let us rather avoid thinking about it as we acquiesce in "the demands of the grain industry." Have a slice of bread, neighbor?

Summing it all up in a more serious vein, Ike is trying—terribly hard—to make over America in the light of a businessman's government. He is conscientious and patriotic but is facing shattering disillusionment. In the midst of last autumn's Crusade it all looked so easy! There were two fantasies then in particular, that the budget could be quickly balanced, and that a generous, friendly approach could win Congress. Last week the first fantasy popped. Frankly and honestly Secretary Humphrey admitted the budget can't be balanced in 1954. It was a manly abandonment of what, in effect, were phony campaign promises. But there is still that other fantasy. We firmly believe the fate of Ike's Administration hangs on dropping the second illusion and in taking a firmer line to Congress.

Washington T.R.B.

LETTERS

(Continued from page 2)

the list of names that comprise your whole staff, I am inclined to believe that they should be subjected to a loyalty test by the House Committee on un-American Activities.

The title of your publication is a misnomer, it should be *New American Edition of Pravda.* Malenkov and Molotov and Vishinsky and the rest of the boys in the Kremlin must be highly elated in the knowledge that they have such a reliable mouthpiece over here.

It will not surprise me if some of the members of your editorial staff are not summoned to Washington to give an explanation of the purpose of your publication.

Anyone who attacks McCarthy, should serve as a guide post for the F.B.I. in their search for Communists in this country. McCarthy has the courage to drag these traitors out into the open, yet you are too stupid or disloyal to appreciate it. We need a thousand McCarthys in this nation to clean it up of the parasitical element who are swarming all over it with their filthy propaganda.

Fitchburg, Mass. GREGORY B. STONE

The "Give-Away" Begins

Here is the 56-to-35 roll-call vote by which the Senate gave away to the coastal states exclusive rights to all resources in the rich submerged lands off our shores.

FOR THE GIVE-AWAY (56)

Republicans for—(35)

BARRETT (Wyo.)	GOLDWATER (Ariz.)	POTTER (Mich.)
BEALL (Md.)	HENDRICKSON (N. J.)	PURTELL (Conn.)
BENNETT (Utah)	HICKENLOOPER (Iowa)	SALTONSTALL (Mass.)
BRICKER (Ohio)	IVES (N. Y.)	SCHOEPPEL (Kans.)
BRIDGES (N. H.)	JENNER (Ind.)	SMITH (Me.)
BUSH (Conn.)	KNOWLAND (Calif.)	SMITH (N. J.)
BUTLER (Md.)	KUCHEL (Calif.)	TAFT (Ohio)
CORDON (Oreg.)	MARTIN (Pa.)	THYE (Minn.)
DIRKSEN (Ill.)	MC CARTHY (Wisc.)	WATKINS (Utah)
DUFF (Pa.)	MILLIKIN (Colo.)	WELKER (Idaho)
DWORSHAK (Idaho)	MUNDT (S. Dak.)	WILLIAMS (Del.)
FLANDERS (Vt.)	PAYNE (Me.)	

Democrats for—(21)

BYRD (Va.)	HOEY (N. C.)	MC CARRAN (Nev.)
CLEMENTS (Ky.)	HOLLAND (Fla.)	MC CLELLAN (Ark.)
DANIEL (Tenn.)	HUNT (Wyo.)	ROBERTSON (Va.)
EASTLAND (Miss.)	JOHNSON (Tex.)	RUSSELL (Ga.)
ELLENDER (La.)	JOHNSTON (S. C.)	SMATHERS (Fla.)
FREAR (Del.)	LONG (La.)	SMITH (N. C.)
GEORGE (Ga.)	MAYBANK (S. C.)	STENNIS (Miss.)

AGAINST THE GIVE-AWAY (35)

Republicans against—(9)

AIKEN (Vt.)	FERGUSON (Mich.)	TOBEY (N. H.)
CASE (S. Dak.)	GRISWOLD (Neb.)	WILEY (Wisc.)
COOPER (Ky.)	LANGER (N. Dak.)	YOUNG (N. Dak.)

Democrats against—(25)

ANDERSON (N. Mex.)	LEHMAN (N. Y.)	JACKSON (Wash.)
CHAVEZ (N. Mex.)	MAGNUSON (Wash.)	JOHNSON (Colo.)
DOUGLAS (Ill.)	MANSFIELD (Mont.)	MONRONEY (Okla.)
FULBRIGHT (Ark.)	GREEN (R. I.)	MURRAY (Mont.)
GILLETTE (Iowa)	HAYDEN (Ariz.)	NEELY (W. Va.)
GORE (Tenn.)	HENNINGS (Mo.)	PASTORE (R. I.)
KEFAUVER (Tenn.)	HILL (Ala.)	SPARKMAN (Ala.)
KENNEDY (Mass.)	HUMPHREY (Minn.)	SYMINGTON (Mo.)
KILGORE (W. Va.)		

Independent against—(1)

MORSE (Oreg.)

Not voting but paired: CAPEHART (R, Ind.) for passage and MALONE (R, Nev.) against.

Not voting nor paired but announced as for passage: BUTLER (R, Neb.) and CARLSON (R, Kans.).

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New Republic

A CLEAR AND PRESENT DANGER

THE TRANSCRIPT of the hearing of James A. Wechsler, editor of the New York *Post*, before the McCarthy Permanent Investigating Subcommittee, published elsewhere in this issue, clearly justifies Mr. Wechsler's charge that McCarthy's aim in investigating him is "to silence independent newspaper criticism." There has not been such an attack on the American press since William Duane, editor of the Philadelphia *Aurora*, was summoned before the bar of the Senate in 1800 to answer for what the Senate termed his "false, defamatory, scandalous and malicious" attacks on that body. Duane refused to appear when told that he would not be allowed to discuss the constitutionality of the summons, and the charges against him were dropped after President Jefferson was elected. But the Sedition Acts enacted by the Federalists for the purpose of controlling their critics in the election of 1800 sent many other newsmen to jail for criticizing President Adams or his Administration.

Observing these efforts of the Congress to muzzle the press, James Madison speculated that however mischievous in immediate effect the spirit manifest in the Senate, it "cannot fail, I think, to aid the process of reflection and change among the people. In this view our public malady may work its own cure." And, in fact, public reaction against the scheme to silence the press and other Adams policies did produce the overthrow of the Federalist Party in the elections of 1800.

There are no sedition acts under consideration by the present Congress, but neither is there an uprising in the Senate of the United States against McCarthy's calculated first step toward redefining freedom of the press nor any spontaneous rush of editors to a united support of Wechsler. McCarthy's intended next steps are patent. The reaction they will evoke from his fellow Senators and from editors and publishers is less certain.

Wechsler has warned that McCarthy's summoning of him is "the first in a long line of attempts to intimidate editors who do not equate McCarthyism with patriotism." Since then McCarthy has announced that Harvey Matusow, a one-time Communist, has been retained to supply the McCarthy subcommittee with the names of "all Communists who have infiltrated the news media. . . . " Matusow's statements, in campaigning during the last election, give a lurid foretaste of what may be expected in his report. He told the Great Falls, Mont., *Tribune* that there were 126 "dues-paying Communists" on the staff of the Sunday New York *Times*. The total number of employees on the *Times* Sunday staff is 93. Matusow declared that on the "editorial and research staffs of *Time* and *Life* magazines there are 76 hard-core Reds." He estimated that the New York Bureau of the Associated Press employs 25 Communists and added that membership in the CP was necessary in order to get a job as a radio writer or editor in New York.

Matusow can be counted upon for some lurid new headlines, but McCarthy has also assigned the ever-cooperative former-Communist Louis Budenz to prepare a list of Reds in the press for investigation. And four agencies of the government have been ordered by McCarthy to list individuals and publications which they have paid any money for services. The dragnet is out.

Will Senators and newspaper editors object? McCarthy has obviously made an improper use of the power of investigation, as the Washington *Post* has stated, "to gratify the personal vindictiveness of an individual Committee Chairman." This is certainly ground for disciplinary action if demanded by fair-minded Senators.

Mr. Wechsler has called upon the American Society of Newspaper Editors to make an immediate study "of what I have designated as a clear and present danger to all newspapers." The Louisville *Courier-Journal* commented that while McCarthy's attempt at intimidation did not work with Wechsler, "it will undoubtedly warn off other papers who might shrink from a brawl with low-blow Joe," and went on to state: "We heartily endorse Mr. Wechsler's own demand that the American Society of Newspaper Editors study the transcript of this bullying private hearing and condemn the performance with all the vigor their united power can command." The St. Louis *Post-Dispatch* and the New York *Times*, in addition to the Washington *Post* and the Louisville *Courier-Journal* have spoken out vigorously against McCarthy's outrageous tactics in Wechsler's case. But there is as yet no united move by editors to make this a common cause.

The issue of infringement on the free press by McCarthy is one that ultimately must be decided by public opinion, but a strong stand by the American Society of Newspaper Editors is much-needed now if the public malady of our time is also to work its own cure.

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SENATOR WAGNER: GOVERNMENT FOR THE PEOPLE

by Leon H. Keyserling

ROBERT F. WAGNER, who died on May 4, was born in Germany in 1877. Brought to New York at the age of eight, he lived with his penniless parents in the basement where they labored, battled his way through the years to a law diploma, rose rapidly to high elective and judicial offices in the state, and served 23 successive years as a United States Senator. During a vital period, he introduced and guided to enactment a more varied and significant group of laws than any other Senator in our history.

To review briefly his 40 years of public service is impossible. During his six most active years, he sponsored the Social Security Act; Home Owners Loan legislation; Public Works Administration; US Employment Service; National Labor Relations Act; Railroad Retirement Act; Civilian Conservation Corps; US Housing Act (slum clearance and low-rent housing); National Industrial Recovery Act; National Housing legislation (FHA); various unemployment relief laws; and a host of other measures.

Proponent of so much legislation associated with the heyday of the New Deal, Wagner was far more than the legislative agent of a preordained program. When he introduced the National Industrial Recovery Act in early 1933, its great public-works features were a synthesis of public works and relief bills which he had been agitating since 1930. The effort to deal comprehensively with prices and wages, production and industrial relations, was attuned to his long search for a balanced program of recovery and reform rather than a panacea such as the bill for a 30-hour week to share unemployment instead of combating it. Despite shortcomings, the NRA laid foundations for improved economic conditions which still endure.

Years before introducing the Social Security Bill in 1935, Senator Wagner sponsored the first resolution ever presented in the Congress to study unemployment insurance; between 1930 and 1933 he presented bills to measure unemployment, alleviate its hardships, spread its costs, and counter it affirmatively with industrial stabilization measures. In two of his later efforts—the National Labor Relations and the US Housing Acts—he encountered not only powerful expected opposition, but also the more heart-breaking experience of apathy or dissent running to the highest levels of the executive structure.

Senator Wagner hated to indict individuals or groups; he saw many sufferers but few malefactors. He never tried to win a temporary—and in a democracy dangerous—majority by pitting one interest against another. Seeking to improve society rather than to punish or reform individuals, he aimed his appeal at the reason of all fair-minded men by programs geared to the ultimate welfare of all.

While radical in his determination to get to the heart of matters, in certain fundamentals Wagner was a fundamentalist. He instinctively disliked the court-packing plan, not because he thought judges holier than other men, but because he thought the basic framework of our free institutions more sancrosanct than any man. Rarely has a man in public life rejected so vigorously all weapons except the truth as he saw it. But when armed with a just cause, he ignored the political risks and personal burdens of fighting for reforms before they became popular.

Love of the ancient safeguards which a free society must hold fast to even while rushing to solve new problems; unwillingness to use distortion for political advantage; courage to foresake one's own political superiors on a vital party issue where one believes them to be mistaken; determination to fight for one's beliefs before they are accepted; a burning passion to help the underdog without wronging the more fortunate; lonely withdrawal from the material and social advantages open to a successful man, in order to concentrate upon his life's work—these were rare qualities, not in an idealist satisfied just to be right without being effectual, but in a practical man driven by an insatiable desire to get results.

Even now, there are millions of families living in decent homes which would not have been built but for his efforts. There are tens of millions of workers who enjoy an industrial democracy which but for him would not be so full. There are thousands of businesses and farms and banks alive and thriving, because of his numerous measures designed to afford them direct aid and stimuli. There is a throbbing $360 billion economy which, but for the many measures bearing his imprint, would not be so strong or stable or just.

How different countless American lives would be today, if some "quota" in 1885 had prevented this boy of eight from coming to these shores. And how important for our future it is that later members of the greatest deliberative body in the world measure up to the standards which Robert F. Wagner set.

Leon H. Keyserling was legislative assistant to Senator Wagner from early 1933 through 1937, and closely associated with him until his retirement.

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THE WEEK

THE OXBOW INCIDENT

Herbert Hoover's clarion call for a return to private exploitation of public water-power resources has echoed from the sheer walls of Hell's Canyon.

Secretary of Interior Douglas McKay has withdrawn his Department's opposition to an application of the Idaho Power Company for a private license to build small dams and power plants at Oxbow and other points on the Snake River above Hell's Canyon. The case is pending before the Federal Power Commission which will begin hearings on May 13.

Under the long-range plans proposed by the Truman Administration for the Columbia River Basin, the government would build a large multi-purpose dam in Hell's Canyon. The reservoir behind this dam would completely flood the dams proposed by Idaho Power Company. Former Secretary of Interior Oscar Chapman had intervened in the FPC proceeding in order to oppose the application for the private license.

With his action, McKay follows Agriculture Secretary Ezra Taft Benson's earlier withdrawal from the case. Benson made his decision singlehanded. McKay delayed until the eve of the hearings, pending consultation with the entire Eisenhower Cabinet. Withdrawal of support for Hell's Canyon Dam and of opposition to Idaho Power Company's application, therefore, constitutes policy of the whole Administration as outlined by Herbert Hoover.

Interior's participation in the FPC proceeding amounted to more than concern for the nation's resources. Unless Interior, by its intervention, indicates to the FPC that it proposes to build Hell's Canyon Dam—twice recommended by Harry Truman—FPC will have little alternative to approval of a private license to Idaho Power Company.

The FPC is charged with the promotion of the fullest development of the nation's water-power potential. Hell's Canyon is the best undeveloped hydroelectric site in the United States. It would add more than one million kilowatt capacity to the shortage-plagued power system of the Pacific Northwest; it would supply water for irrigation, storage for flood control.

The private company's project would develop only about half the power which could be generated by Hell's Canyon Dam; it would furnish no flood storage; no water for irrigation.

If the FPC can choose between Hell's Canyon Dam and Oxbow, its choice so far as physical evidence indicates, should have been in favor of Hell's Canyon. If the FPC has to choose between Oxbow or nothing—as now proposed by Secretary McKay's decision—it could license Oxbow, on the assumption that that is the only available alternative.

WHAT HO CHI MINH HAS WON

Rather than guess at Ho Chi Minh's reasons for first sending forces into, then beginning to withdraw them from, Laos, it might be profitable to discern just what the Communist cause in Asia has gained by the action.

The Viet-Minh forces have seized Laos' main riches—the rice crop and the opium crop. They now control the northern section of the country which, if they choose, they can hold at least through the rainy season and probably longer, while establishing an underground with communications to Viet-Nam and Southern China. Thailand, Burma, Cambodia and the Malay States are threatened and will remain so as long as the Communists are in Laos. Ho has tied down at least 16 French battalions; these must depend upon airborne supplies while Ho's forces have regained freedom of maneuver. American military supplies for Europe have had to be diverted to Indo-China, and Southeast Asia has again been treated to the spectacle of a Western army being out-smarted by native "irregular" troops.

All of this adds up to an impressive achievement. Ho Chi Minh with one thrust has revived, and strongly, the issue of Western colonialism in Southeast Asia.

The French action in Indo-China has gradually come to be seen as a counterpart to the United Nations action in Korea. Essentially both actions are military resistance to poorly disguised Communist aggression. But Communist aggression is but one of the forces at work in Southeast Asia. The other was expressed by the King of Cambodia when he said, "my people will not fight for the French."

Ho's thrust into Laos spotlighted two facts which the West has long chosen to ignore. (1) The Indo-Chinese states are not content with their status in the French Union; they want a guarantee of independence similar to that given India by England, a guarantee bearing a date. (2) France is unwilling to make such an agreement or to take any step which might strengthen the demand for it.

Although France has long insisted that the action in Indo-China is an international concern, she has flatly refused to bring this latest Communist attack before the United Nations for international action. The result of French policy in Indo-China is hatred. And the Southeast Asians' hatred of France poses a serious threat to the entire Free World. If those Indo-Chinese nations which have threatened to should join with the Communists to drive out the French, the whole of Southeast Asia would sooner or later be lost. An acceptable political settlement in Korea would become impossible. We should have to abandon our plans for a self-sufficient Japan or allow her to trade extensively with China. Our situation in the Far East would, in short, become untenable.

Life and Liberty

"It may be said with justice that the man is dangerous who talks loudly about military preparation and is uninterested in social reform. It is the people engaged in adding to the values of civilization who have earned the right to talk about its defense." — *Walter Lippmann in the* New Republic, *December 19, 1914*

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WHO SAID JOE DIED?

ON A SHELF of a library maintained in a Western European city by the United States Information Service, there is a book of verse containing the following lines:

I honor the man who is willing to sink
Half his present repute for the freedom to think
And, when he has thought, be his cause strong or weak
Will risk t'other half for the freedom to speak
Caring nought for what vengeance the mob has in store,
Let that mob be the upper ten thousand or the lower.
[And even worse:]
There are truths you Americans need to be told,
And it never'll refute them to swagger and scold.

It is obvious that the city had better be left unnamed, lest even more trouble be caused for the USIS now in process of becoming, like the Voice of America, a vermiform appendix of the Dullesian State Department. For, by the standards of politically pure judgment publicly proclaimed to the Europeans by Senator McCarthy's peripatetic purgers, Messrs. Cohn and Schine, for the selection of works by US authors permissible in official US libraries abroad, the book should be ritualistically burned and the author hailed for his sin of subversive thinking and writing before a committee.

As emissaries of good will Cohn and Schine may not reach the stature in history of the early "Citizen" Genet during the Revolutionary War and the late Mason and Slidell during the Civil War. Nevertheless, they have already won a niche of notoriety in the annals of the Cold War by reviving in the minds of very many Europeans the memories of a recent historical past in which intimidation and anxiety scourged men's freedom to think, speak and write.

The author of the book in the USIS library is well beyond the reach of a subpoena. James Russell Lowell died—perhaps fortunately—long before Senator McCarthy was born. But unfortunately the echoes of the visit of his two young men to this benighted continent have far from died down.

As the London *Times* points out, McCarthy is no longer merely an internal US affair. He "has become the direct concern of the United States' allies." The newspaper, in common with many conservative organs in several Western European countries, was dismayed not only by the new Eisenhower Security Program but even more by McCarthy's delight in it, and it took the unusual course of devoting a leading editorial to the activities of McCarthy which "have of late begun to ramify into fields where his lack of talents become more conspicuous than ever." Because this statement is typical of what America's best friends in Europe think, it is, we think, worth quoting at some length.

> The recent grotesque voyage through Europe of the Senator's two lieutenants, Mr. Cohn and Mr. Schine, provided Europeans with a living example of those qualities of rashness and intolerance which the Communists claim as a characteristic of the present Administration as a whole. Senator McCarthy also, either through what he has already achieved or through what it is feared he may achieve, has gone a long way to hamstring American propaganda and to make American representatives abroad so cautious in their behavior that their usefulness is seriously weakened. These are achievements which other nations cannot ignore.
>
> The fears and suspicions which center round the person of Senator McCarthy are now real enough to count as an essential factor in policy making for the West. Senator McCarthy, who appears to be considerably less influenced by party loyalty than by personal ambition, has set up a challenge to Eisenhower's Administration which cannot be evaded indefinitely.

Europeans generally saw the case of Theodore Kaghan as a deliberate warning on the part of the Senator that his kind of politics does not stop at the water's edge and that his power to intimidate extends not only to every State Department official but to every US citizen abroad. It may not be long—at the pace now set—before passports to private individuals are withheld (or taken away) without explanation, behind the pretext that the person's "behavior, activities or associations *tend* to show that" he "is not reliable or trustworthy."

Since the McCarran law, added to already restrictive regulations, makes the travel of Europeans to the US—even the most politically pure of them—subject to a harrowing ordeal of bureaucratic formalities, including at times insulting indignities as well as mere annoyances, the prospect of restrictions of the foreign travel of Americans is alarming to those Europeans who still, perhaps naïvely, believe in the value of international understanding. Perhaps this fear is exaggerated, or at any rate, premature. Yet, it remains true that rumors are going the rounds among European liberals, tales of American friends afraid to go to their consulate for renewals or extensions of their passports.

Few recent events had a worse effect, moreover, than the widely publicized offer of General Clark to "buy" a MIG plane from a Chinese, Korean or Russian deserter in Korea. For this addition of "dollar treason"—as it was called over here—to dollar diplomacy and demagogic patriotism, Allan Dulles, the CIA head who is the brother of the Secretary of State, and C. D. Jackson, the ex-Luce-man who "ghosts" the President's psychological warfare, were held responsible. Though the offer was presumably made in the name of the United Nations command, neither the British nor any other nationality participating in the Korean fighting, was consulted in advance. And the Tory government took a very dim view of injecting the profit motive into patriotism.

At present, there are plenty of Americans traveling or living in Europe who can explain—and almost explain away—the false interpretations and wrong implications of the achievements of McCarthy and the Dulles brothers. But will they be allowed to, and if so, how long will they have the courage to?

Paris FRANK GORRELL

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BEHIND THE COMMITTEE DOORS:

McCARTHY vs THE PRESS

James Wechsler, editor of the New York Post, *was called before Senator McCarthy's investigating committee for the stated reason that one of his books was found in State Department overseas libraries. Only about five minutes of the five hour cross-examination dealt with books; the rest was a probe into the editorial policies of the* Post. *Because the committee, which can afford to bring witnesses back from Germany and send investigators on a European tour, only provided one copy of the hearing for the 800 members of the daily press, we present the following significant excerpts:*

HEARING BEFORE THE PERMANENT SENATE SUBCOMMITTEE ON INVESTIGATIONS, APRIL 24, 1953:

SENATOR MCCARTHY [Chairman]: I may say the reason for your being called today is that you are one of the many authors of books whose books have been used in the Information Program in various libraries, and we would like to check into a number of matters. . . .

* * *

Do you have any other people who are members of the Young Communist League, who were or are members of the Young Communist League, working for you on your newspaper?

MR. WECHSLER: I want to say that I think you are now exploring a subject which the American Society of Newspaper Editors might want to consider at some length. I answer the question solely because I recognize the capacity for misstatement or misinterpretation of a failure to answer. I answer it with the protest signified. To my knowledge, there are no Communists on the staff of the New York *Post* at this time.

* * *

SENATOR MCCARTHY: . . . Your record, as far as I can see it, has not been to fight Communism. You have fought every man who has ever tried to fight Communism, as far as I know. Your paper, in my opinion, is next to and almost paralleling the *Daily Worker*. We are curious to know, therefore, why your books were purchased. We want to know how many Communists, if any, you still have working with you. . . .

MR. WECHSLER: I wonder if, in view of your remarks, I would be permitted to insert in the record a couple of documents, including the draft resolution of the Communist Party of December 28, 1952, in which the Communist Party's national committee proclaims that the failure of the Communist Progressive Party campaign in the last election was due to the policies of the Reuthers, Dubinskys, Wechslers, *et al*, "who paralyzed independent political action by projecting the myth that Stevenson was an obstacle to the path of reaction." . . .

SENATOR MCCARTHY: Did you have anything to do with the passage of that resolution?

MR. WECHSLER: Is that a serious question? . . . Sir, I have not been in any way affiliated with the Communist movement since late 1937, as I believe your investigation will show. That resolution was adopted by the Communist Party as a tribute to the militant and vigorous anti-Communism of the New York *Post*, which has, in my judgment been more effective in leading people away from Communism, Senator, than those who prefer to identify liberalism with Communism. . . . The answer is No, Senator.

* * *

SENATOR MCCARTHY: . . . Have you consistently criticized the Chairmen of the House Un-American Activities Committee, whose task it is to expose Communists, or have you ever found one of them that you thought was a pretty good fellow, that you praised, or that you could praise as of today—a Chairman?

MR. WECHSLER: Well, if you are asking me my position on the activities of the Velde Committee, my answer is that I have been editorially critical of those activities, as have many other newspapers. . . . I do not recall praising a chairman of the House Un-American Activities Committee.

* * *

SENATOR MCCARTHY: The principal villains in your book are those in the Congress who have gone about the job of exposing Communists. Is that correct?

MR. WECHSLER: No, Senator, that is not correct. If I may, since you have asked the question, we have repeatedly taken the position that the New York *Post* is as bitterly opposed to Joe Stalin as it is to Joe McCarthy, and we believe that a free society can combat both.

* * *

MR. WECHSLER: My basic position is that American society is a very strong and resilient one. I believe that we have successfully resisted Communist aggression in the world under the leadership of men whom you have at times deemed sinister. I believe that in the battle of ideas we can compete effectively any day of the week with the Communists without resorting to methods which I regard as imitative of theirs. I see by your expression that you feel as if you have heard this before, so I will not pursue the point.

SENATOR MCCARTHY: I have. I have read it in the *Daily Worker* and in the New York *Post*.

MR. WECHSLER: You have probably read it in the New York *Times*. I can't help but wonder when the editor of the *Times* is going to be down here.

* * *

SENATOR MCCARTHY: Do you know any of those Young Communists who are in any government position as of today?

MR. WECHSLER: No, sir, I do not.

SENATOR MCCARTHY: Do you know Bernard DeVoto?

MR. WECHSLER: I trust this is not a sequitur.

SENATOR MCCARTHY: Pardon?

MR. WECHSLER: I trust this is not a sequitur.

SENATOR MCCARTHY: It is a question.

MR. WECHSLER: I believe I may have met Bernard DeVoto. I can't recall the occasion on which I did. . . .

SENATOR MCCARTHY: You did not collaborate with him in writing the article in which he advocated that Americans not talk to the FBI?

MR. WECHSLER: No, sir, I thought that was a very bad article.

SENATOR MCCARTHY: . . . We are going to ask you, Mr. Wechsler, to prepare a list and submit it to the committee and consider it to be submitted under oath, of all the Young Communist Leaguers that you know as such, or the Communists. That is an order.

* * *

SENATOR JACKSON: As I take it, your position publicly and in written articles has been on an anti-Communist basis, and on basic Communist issues you have been anti-Communist, including such matters as the Nazi pact and action taken by the Soviet after World War II?

MR. WECHSLER: Yes, sir. There is no question about it. . . . I would be happy to submit to this committee every editorial written since I became editor.

SENATOR MCCARTHY: I do not think that I would care to read them.

MR. WECHSLER: . . . I would think perhaps in fairness you ought to read them some day.

SENATOR MCCARTHY: I read enough of your stuff, Mr. Wechsler, to find that your

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paper, as far as I know, always leads the vanguard, with the *Daily Worker*, follows the same line, against anyone who is willing to expose Communists in government. . . .

* * *

SENATOR MCCARTHY: As I recall, and I may misquote this because I do not read your sheet, I understand that you have been disturbed by the "unfair treatment" witnesses received before this committee. Do you feel you were unfairly treated?

MR. WECHSLER: Why, Senator, I question the basic nature of this proceeding. Of course I do.

SENATOR MCCARTHY: You feel you are unfairly treated?

MR. WECHSLER: I regard this proceeding as the first in a long line of attempts to intimidate editors who do not equate McCarthyism with patriotism.

* * *

SENATOR MCCARTHY: . . . Have you been intimidated?

MR. WECHSLER: I say there is not any doubt this is an attempt to intimidate me. I trust that I have the moral courage to stand up under it. I trust that other editors will. . . .

* * *

MAY 5, 1953 (HEARING CONTINUED)

MR. WECHSLER: From the moment Senator McCarthy summoned me to Washington, it has been my conviction that he has raised grave questions of freedom of the press worthy of full investigation by the American Society of Newspaper Editors. I do not propose to allow anyone to cloud that issue.

SENATOR MCCARTHY: If the American Society of Newspaper Editors does comply with your request—which I doubt—I hope they extend their investigation to the lack of ethics and the lack of truth in the newspaper which you edit. I also hope they investigate your abuse of freedom of the press and your low ethical standards as a newspaper man. . . .

* * *

MR. WECHSLER: I believe Senator McCarthy instituted this whole proceeding as a reprisal against a newspaper and its editor for their opposition to the methods of this committee's chairman. . . . The fact that a book I wrote was reportedly found in an Information Service Library Overseas hardly warrants this large-scale examination—especially in view of my known hostility to Communism over so many years. Incidentally, I have not yet even been told which book it was or where it was found, but Senator McCarthy has been quoted publicly as saying it was my book on John L. Lewis—a book which contains a full chapter describing the destructive operations of Communists in the labor movement.

Senator McCarthy has in fact been conducting an examination of the policies and personnel of the *Post*, a newspaper which, if I may say so, has been as equally resolute in its opposition to Communism as to attacks on liberty from any other high or low quarter. . . .

I reiterate my belief that Senator McCarthy is engaged in a primitive fishing expedition designed to silence independent newspaper comment. That issue I shall ask the American Society of Newspaper Editors to weigh. . . .

* * *

MR. WECHSLER: . . . The issue is complicated by the fact of my belief that proceedings of executive hearings are not conducted in closed rooms. Last Sunday there was in a column widely published throughout the country a somewhat garbled version of testimony that I gave a week ago Friday.

SENATOR SYMINGTON: Whose column?

MR. WECHSLER: A column written by a man named Winchell. It is a matter of open knowledge in the newspaper business that Mr. Rushmore, who is sitting in this room, is a continual news source for Mr. Winchell. I should hate to see this list [of Communists Wechsler knew when he was in college] given in the light of the discussion we have had here, and then see it published in the next 48 or 72 hours in that column. . . .

* * *

SENATOR SYMINGTON: I want to say that you have been the most forthright witness formerly interested in the Communist Party, or a member of it, that we have had before this committee. . . .

MR. WECHSLER: I want to show that there is no question that you have submitted to me that I have refused to answer to the best of my ability.

* * *

MR. COHN: I think the record ought to be clear on this. The Author's Index indicates Mr. Wechsler's books are in use. That is for certain. Exactly which of them, it is a practical impossibility at this point to know.

MR. WECHSLER: But that is a rather crucial question. . . . Two of the books I wrote when I was an anti-Communist.

* * *

MR. WECHSLER: I believe the object of this proceeding was, as I stated, a reprisal against the *Post* for its fight against the chairman of this committee. I believe I would not be here if I were not editor of the *Post* and I did not engage in such a fight.

* * *

SENATOR MCCARTHY: . . . You have been shouting that this is interfering with freedom of the press. It puts me in mind of so many people screaming that their right to scream has been denied. I have not found that your right to scream has been denied you at all. I have not found that your right to distort and twist the news has been interfered with since you have been here. I may say again, just so you need not go out and say McCarthy intimated that Wechsler is still a member of the Party or McCarthy insinuated you were valuable to the Communist movement, I may say that your purported reformation does not convince me at all. I know if I were head of the Communist Party and I had Jim Wechsler come to Moscow and I discovered this bright man, apparently a good writer, I would say, "Mr. Wechsler, when you go back to the United States, you will state you are breaking with the Communist Party, you will make general attacks against Communism, and then you will be our ring leader in trying to attack and destroy any man who tries to hurt and dig out the specific traitors who are hurting our country."

You have followed that pattern. I say this so you need not say that McCarthy intimated or insinuated. . . .

MR. WECHSLER: I have taken the position that this is an issue that I believe the American Society of Newspaper Editors should weigh on the basis of the transcript we have conducted here.

* * *

SENATOR MCCARTHY: . . . As a final comment, may I say I think you are doing tremendous damage to the newspaper profession. . . . It is like I believe as Walter Winchell said the other day, it seems according to you to be perfectly all right for a newspaper to criticize anyone on earth, but when they turn around and criticize a newsman, then that is abusing freedom of the press.

I do not think our newsmen as a whole are so weak-kneed or so cowardly that they need fear the investigation or exposure of some of the members of the profession. . . . I may say your threat to submit this to the American Society of Newspaper Editors has no effect on me whatsoever. I do not care what you submit to them. You can submit whatever you care to.

MR. WECHSLER: It is my hope it will have effect on public opinion in America. That is my objective. Let me say in closing that I have freely answered all questions submitted to me. I might say, Senator, as we have said so often in editorials, that sometimes it might be argued that you ought to follow my precedent in connection with another committee, if you will permit me that final comment. I stand on my record as an editor, as an American, and I repeat again my conviction that I would not be here before you if I had been able to find a more affirmative view of your role in America. I think I have now reached the point where redundancy becomes repetition and I think I will desist.

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AUSTRIA—THE CHANCE FOR DIPLOMACY

by Alexander Kendrick

THE WESTERN Powers have long ago made Austria the touchstone of Soviet peace intentions, and now, following the death of Stalin and the installation of a new Kremlin regime, *Pravda* in its famous full-page editorial has apparently agreed that an Austrian solution can be had on the basis of understandings already arrived at. In fact, an Austrian settlement is one of the few concrete achievements *Pravda* described as possible, at this stage of Soviet tactical maneuvers.

Since the Moscow agreement that Austria was to have a treaty as a liberated country, not a conquered enemy, was made nearly 10 years ago, and since negotiations to that end have led fruitlessly through 260 meetings of the foreign ministers' deputies over a period of seven years, the details of these tortuous proceedings have by now generally been lost sight of in the atmosphere of frustration and deadlock that has so long prevailed.

This fact is not conducive to a proper evaluation of the present situation, for while it is true that the Russians can readily provide a treaty, as they could have done at any time in the past seven years (only five inconsequential articles out of 59 are still unagreed), more is involved than a mere flick of the wrist, as some American statesmen seem to think. Whether it be given as a move in a broader and more general settlement, perhaps involving Germany, or whether it be given as an end in itself, Soviet agreement to an Austrian treaty will represent a considerable concession, and one for which the Russians could ask a similar weighty concession from us.

For if the Russians give up the Eastern portion of Austria, which they presently occupy with 45,000 troops, they are not only giving up a going concern, economically speaking, but they are giving up a strategic position of prime importance in the heart of Europe, several jet-plane bases, a convenient buffer between their satellite states and the West, the right to keep their troops "guarding communication lines" in Hungary and Romania, and not least, their Viennese intelligence and spy center and the valuable forum for Communist propaganda that they have made of Vienna, with its full schedule of international Communist-front conferences.

What the Western Powers would give up, on the other hand, is an unwanted and unnecessary occupation for the British and the French, and for the United States a nondeterrent military position and an economic stalemate exemplified by the fact that the $1 billion in aid we have given Austria since the war represents almost exactly the amount that the Russians have taken out at the other end.

It is for the simple reason that an Austrian treaty is to our advantage and to their disadvantage that the Russians have found one pretext after another to prevent a quadripartite agreement and give unhappy Austria her full sovereignty.

Some of these pretexts were purely extraneous, such as the Russian demand for a prior settlement of the Trieste question, which is already covered by the Italian peace treaty. Other delays were the result of Russian apprehension that Austria is being converted into an "Alpine fortress" by the Western allies. This is a good example of being convinced by your own propaganda, and the Russians could never explain why, if we are so intent on remilitarizing Austria as they charge, we are also so anxious to end the occupation and pull out.

There is no doubt that the long delay over Austria is also part of the penalty we have had to pay for our refusal to continue the four-power occupation of Germany, and for our conclusion of a Japanese peace treaty without the Russians.

But overshadowing all these explanations for Russian recalcitrance has been the Kremlin's real belief that as soon as the occupation ends, Austria will one way or another become part of the European Defense Community. If now the Malenkov peace offensive, with its expected offer of a German settlement, throws a monkey-wrench into the NATO and the EDC plans, the Russians can for the first time, from their viewpoint, afford to cut the Austrian knot without pricking themselves.

Since they have already achieved the neutralization and demilitarization of Austria by mere occupation, however, it becomes evident that signing a treaty which gains no further end will be put forward by the Russians as a *quid* for which they will want a definite *quo*. They will not regard it as only the preliminary evidence of good faith, or an option on the right to sit in at future serious negotiations, as quite a few Americans seem to regard it.

This is the more so when the economic consequences of an Austrian treaty are examined. As a result of the seizure of so-called German assets in their Occupation Zone, the Russians have acquired extensive industrial, agricultural, commercial and transport holdings which they are fully exploiting, and which have yielded them the cool $1 billion our Marshall Plan has had to make up. When it is considered that only one-quarter of Austria is involved, with a population of 1.8 million persons

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(excluding four-power Vienna), this can be regarded as Stakhanovite production of a very high order.

Of the $1 billion "take-home pay," $200 million has come from the dismantling of machinery and equipment which has been sent into Communist territory. "Former German assets," which in most cases are actually former Austrian assets expropriated by Goering, have in the three Western Occupation Zones been given back to the Austrians and form part of the country's nationalized sector of economy. In the Soviet Zone, they are controlled and operated by the *Upravlenye Sovietskye Imutchestvo v Avstria,* or Directorate of Soviet Property in Austria, commonly called by its Russian initials USIA.

This huge corporation, which is extra-territorial and pays no taxes or customs duties, administers 350 manufacturing plants including some of the largest and most important heavy industry in Europe (Siemens-Schuckert, Floridsdorf Lokomotivfabrik, Voith, Brown-Boveri). It has 50,000 employees. Annually it ships $50 million worth of such goods as steel, cable, machinery, tubing, motors, mining equipment and ball-bearings behind the Iron Curtain; in 1951 it shipped $150 million worth. It disposes of 150,000 acres of farm lands and forests. It operates 200 retail shops with an annual turnover of $40 million, which are used to undermine Austrian retail trade by dumping large quantities of Austrian and satellite-made goods on the open market at low prices. USIA even owns wine houses in Soviet-occupied Lower Austria, and its non-excisable business in Bulgarian cigarettes is a serious blow to the Austrian Tabak Regie.

USIA's operations are financed by the Soviet Military Bank, which also underwrites the two other important economic prerogatives the Russians enjoy in Austria.

One is the oil wells of Zistersdorf and Matzen, which will produce three million tons this year, to make these East Austrian fields, and no longer the Romanian, the largest in Europe outside the Soviet Union itself. The Austrian fields have produced 10 million tons since the war, of which the Russians have taken 70 percent for their satellites, primarily Czechoslovakia, while allowing Austria to dispose of 30 percent internally. But even this is done, in the Soviet Zone and Vienna, through the jointly controlled OROP (*Oesterreichische-Russiche Oel Produkte*) service stations numbering 655. In a country that produces and refines its own oil, Austrian motorists pay retail gasoline prices equal to those in countries which import petroleum.

In all fairness to the Russians it must be said they have tripled the output of Austrian oil since the end of the war, and have surveyed and developed large new fields. But this has been for their own advantage, and is small solace to a population which has seen $100 million worth of its black gold shipped off to foreign parts.

The third economic entity inherited by the Russians as "former German assets" is the *Donaudampfschiffahrtgesellschaft* or DDGS, the Danube shipping company, with its passenger vessels, barges, tugs, wharves, docks and other installations, which used to include the Pecs coal mine and the Mohacs-Pecs railroad in Hungary. The company's capital stock was worth $11 million in 1938 prices, at the time of the Nazi anschluss, and is currently estimated at several times that amount. Danube passenger ships which were tied up in the Western Zones of Austria, and therefore not seized by the Russians, were allowed last year for the first time to traverse the Soviet Zone from Linz to Vienna under the red-white-red flag of Austria, but everything else on the Danube sails under the Hammer and Sickle.

USIA, the oil fields and the Danube shipping company are all thriving, or more exactly, the Russians are thriving on them, and it would be a serious economic loss if they now gave up these capitalistic enterprises under an Austrian treaty. As a matter of fact, they will not give up all of them. The main bone of contention in the four-power treaty talks over the years was this same question of "former German assets," and the agreement finally made was that the Russians were to restore their USIA industrial complex to Austria in exchange for $150 million "compensation," although reparations as such are specifically barred in the treaty. Further, they were to retain about 60 percent of the Austrian oil fields on leaseholds of 25 years, and likewise retail all the non-movable riparian property of the DDGS *in perpetuo*. There is a major difference from current practice in that post-treaty Russian interests in Austria will be fully in the jurisdiction of Austrian law and the Austrian tax system.

After the Russians had obtained these material gains in the treaty draft, at a time (1948) when Austrians and allies alike felt that practically no price was too high to pay for a state of peace and for the Soviet evacuation of central Europe, they shifted to a policy of stalling for one reason or another, as has already been pointed out.

This was evidently because significant changes were taking place in central Europe. The Communist coup in Czechoslovakia and the Communization of Hungary made these countries outright satellites of Moscow, and made the Soviet Zone of Austria and the Red Army there important as buffers between them and Western influence, while their own military potential and political reliability were built up.

The partition of Germany made the Russians more wary than ever of leaving Austria. Marshal Tito broke away from the Cominform, and the Russians could not take their military presence too far from his defiant borders. So the Russians stayed, and stayed, and stayed.

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Now, five years after the concessions made to them in the original treaty draft, the central European situation is somewhat different. Czechoslovakia and Hungary can apparently be regarded as safe enough, from the Soviet viewpoint, to permit the Austrian back-stop to be taken away. The Russians have apparently given up any plans to overwhelm Titoism by overt force. The German problem has reached such high levels of political strategy and antagonism that the only way in which the Soviet occupation of Austria can play a part in its solution is by terminating itself.

Meanwhile the West has grown stronger, more unified, and more self-assured, and that was the reason last year that the American, British and French deputies withdrew all the concessions made to the Russians in the original treaty draft.

They proposed, instead, a skeleton treaty of eight articles which omitted all reference to reparations, Danube shipping, the Austrian oil fields, and former German assets, and was in effect merely an agreement to end the occupation and restore full Austrian sovereignty.

The Russians swiftly rejected the short treaty, and have made its withdrawal a condition for the resumption of any negotiations. *Pravda's* reference to "agreements already reached" means unmistakably that the Kremlin wants to go back to the original uncompleted treaty draft.

But the Western nations, apparently believing that they are finally in the process of bargaining from strength, have no desire to go back. For one thing, they think the 1948 treaty draft is now outdated, that Russian stock has gone down, and that we do not in 1953 have to pay the high price we were willing to pay five years ago. Moreover, they point out that in these five years the Russians' continued exploitation of Austria, plus occupation costs paid them by the Austrian Government, has netted them far more than the $150 million compensation originally agreed on as a quit-claim.

The crucial point of any arrangement for the resumption of quadripartite negotiations is that the Russians believe they would be making a serious concession in leaving Austria, and we believe they would be making only a token gesture of good will. Even if they withdraw such alien issues as that of Trieste, as *Pravda* now indicates they will do, we will not regard it as a concession for we feel they should never have been raised in the first place.

The Austrians themselves, the helpless victims of all this power politics, feel that the skeleton treaty is the "ideal solution," as Foreign Minister Karl Gruber puts it, because it gives them back their independence without taking away any of their property. But Gruber says that the "ideal solution" is worth sacrificing for a speedy withdrawal of all foreign troops. The Foreign Minister's Austrian reaction to the most difficult problem of his time diverges from the general American reaction.

But if the Soviet peace offensive has made anything clear, it is that there is not going to be any one-sided settlement of any question, and that concessions will have to be made from both ends if there is to be any half-way meeting.

Pravda, no less than President Eisenhower, has asked for "deeds, not words," and for many Europeans Austria is indeed a touchstone, a good place to test intentions, not only of the Russians, but of the West as well.

Such Europeans consider unrealistic the growing American attitude that compromise, traditionally the end of diplomacy and, more often than not, of wars, is immoral. Such an attitude, they feel, deprives us of our most potent weapon both at the conference table and at the propaganda front. Unconditional surrender cannot be negotiated; it must be bought with blood.

THE DECLINE OF THE EXECUTIVE

by Wilfred E. Binkley

WHAT COULD possibly be more ironical than the spectacle of a great nation confronted hourly with what could suddenly become the supreme crisis of its history, emasculating step by step the Presidency, the organ of peculiar importance in such an era? It was in the midst of another national crisis that President Lincoln epitomized the then current issue with the memorable sentence: "We shall nobly save or meanly lose the last best hope of earth." Today in a potentially more perilous crisis that "last best hope of earth" is endangered by a persistent drive against the Presidency as an office. The current gravitation of power into the hands of Congress at the expense of the executive is a phenomenon so fatuous as to be incredible if the facts were not so patent.

For the job that confronted it, there probably was never a more competent assembly than the framers of the Constitution. They recognized the legislature, that is the Congress, as the fundamental organ of republican government. However the interests most influential in the constitutional convention had suffered so severely from

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state legislatures that they feared Congress might develop similar defects and consequently checked it with specifically denied powers and with what they intended to be a strong executive. "Energy in an executive," wrote Hamilton in the Federalist Papers, No. 70, "is a leading characteristic in the definition of good government. . . . A feeble executive implies feeble execution of the government. A feeble execution is but another phrase for bad execution; and a government ill-executed, whatever it may be in theory, must be in practice, a bad government."

Hamilton possessed the extraordinary prescience to see that Presidential power depended on unlimited eligibility for re-election and he cogently defended the Constitution's omission of any such limitation. He reasoned that the possibility of re-election was an inducement to good behavior and a reward for fidelity and would give the nation the advantage of the President's acquired experience. "There is no nation," he declared, "which has not at one period or another experienced an absolute necessity of the service of particular men to the preservation of its political existence." Hamilton evidently envisaged some future able and revered ex-President who commanded popular confidence and who in a crisis would need to be recalled to service as President. The recently ratified Twenty-Second Amendment would have made unconstitutional later use of Washington or Jefferson as Presidents no matter how desperately they might have been needed.

This Twenty-Second Amendment to the Constitution permits only one re-election of a President who has already served one term and only one elective term to a Vice-President who has succeeded to the Vice-Presidency and served more than half a term. This amendment slipped through the two houses of Congress and the required number of state legislatures with a minimum of publicity and discussion and rather left the impression of having happened when scarcely anyone was looking. The amendment was apparently due to an emotional tide against a gigantic personality rather than consequent upon a sober consideration of the public interest. In effect the amendment signifies that we of this generation elected a President four times with decisive majorities but we have now seen to it that no future generation shall ever have that privilege. Thus this generation assumes a guardianship over the not-to-be-trusted future generations.

The Twenty-Second Amendment may yet prove to be a piece of tragic folly. It was Theodore Roosevelt who unintentionally first demonstrated the wisdom of Hamilton's belief in unlimited re-eligibility. On the election night in 1904 that assured him a second term he made the first major miscalculation of his political career by declaring "under no circumstances will I be a candidate for or accept another nomination." While he enjoyed for a while the prestige and consequent power due to his overwhelming election he was ere long to experience the decline in legislative leadership due to his spectacular self-denial on election night. Eyes began to shift in other directions just as soon as it was known that his years as President were numbered. No President since Theodore Roosevelt has made a similar blunder. Coolidge shrewdly delayed until near the end of his incumbency his: "I do not choose to run in 1928" and Truman prudently postponed until shortly before the 1952 nominating conventions the announcement of his decision not to seek another term. In more than a dozen years President Franklin Roosevelt never gave any hint of not intending to run again and consequently he retained to the end the Presidential power due to that very uncertainty. Woodrow Wilson resolutely refused to promote an amendment to the Constitution limiting the President to a single term despite the pledge to that end in the Democratic platform on which he had just been elected in 1912.

Essentially Presidential elections are struggles of group combinations, that is political parties, competing to capture the prestige and power inherent in the Presidency. These interests have learned that just as soon as it can be ascertained that a President has decided not to seek another term he is on the way to the status of a "has been" so far as these interests are concerned. As long as there was no constitutional restriction on re-eligibility the control of this tremendous power of decision as to another candidacy was in the hands of the President. Now the Twenty-Second Amendment has, with a single stroke, shattered that particular advantage of the President and to that extent it has weakened the Presidency and moreover at a time of crisis when energy is less dispensable in the Executive than ever before. Now only during first terms can Eisenhower and future Presidents wield the power based on the decision whether or not to run again and two terms will have that particular power of decision reduced 50 percent.

The audacity of the proposed Bricker amendment to the Constitution at a time like this is simply breath taking in its design to circumscribe the executive power of the nation whose Presidents are already hampered in dealing with foreign powers as perhaps no other Chiefs of great nations. The constitutional provision that the President "shall have power by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to make treaties, provided two-thirds of the Senators present concur" is obscure as to just how the treaty is to be negotiated. Washington had been President less than four months when he attempted

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to sit with the Senate and shape the terms of a prospective treaty, but his experience was so exasperating that it is said he left the Senate chamber that day with the remark that he would be damned if he would ever go there again.

Through the generations since 1789 the Senate has grown, if anything, increasingly difficult to Presidents and Secretaries of State with respect to treaties. Half a century ago John Hay, Secretary of State for seven years under Presidents McKinley and Theodore Roosevelt, unburdened his soul with private comments as that "the fathers in their wisdom had arranged it so that kickers could rule." Of course he was indulging in hyperbole when he said, "A treaty entering the Senate is like a bull going into the arena; no one can say just how or when the final blow will fall—but one thing is certain—it will never leave the arena alive."

The writer of this article once heard the father of Sen. Robert Taft good naturedly say that when he was President he "had had prepared a number of arbitration treaties that he did not suppose there could be any objection to. But when the Senate had finished dealing with them they were returned to him so mutilated that even their own father could not recognize them. So I laid them on the shelf to gather dust and wait until the Senate changed its mind, or the people changed the Senate, instead of which they changed me." The two-thirds majority required by the Constitution to validate treaties, the propensity of the Senate to change negotiated treaties by reservations, the insistence upon prolonged debate difficult at times to distinguish from outright filibustering induced the editor of the *Nation* on December 20, 1900, to declare, "The United States is rapidly coming to be regarded by other powers as a nation which is not able to make a treaty."

It has long been considered one of the fortunate features of the Constitution that if a process such as the treaty-making procedure proved inflexible, other means within the powers of the Constitution might be utilized. Thus the near inflexibility of the treaty-making process can still be tolerable if the President may utilize some of his other constitutional powers and thus manage indispensable foreign relations through quasi-treaties known as executive agreements. The President's diplomatic powers, his function as Commander-in-Chief, and the injunction to see that the laws are faithfully executed, all explicitly conferred on him by the Constitution, have proved to be indispensable as the basis of executive agreements by which foreign relations are conducted. It is indicative of the inadequacy of the treaty-making power as it functions that half the international agreements of the last half century have been executive agreements. Moreover such executive agreements are held by the Supreme Court to be the law of the land to which the courts must give effect despite contrary state statute or judicial policy.

Here is a development of constitutional executive power that matured long before the crisis of the Cold War but which might be considered extraordinarily fortunate now in the existing exigencies of 1953. The Bricker amendment chooses this of all times as the moment to trim the range of executive power in international relations. Among other things the proposed amendment provides: "Executive agreements shall not be made in lieu of treaties." They shall "if not sooner terminated, expire automatically one year after the term of office for which the President making the agreement shall have been elected" but may be extended by act of Congress. If the Bricker amendment becomes a part of the Constitution, the President will be lamentably hampered by the provision that he may not negotiate treaties or make executive agreements altering or abridging the reserved powers of the states as represented in state constitutions and statutes unless it be provided for by acts or joint resolutions of Congress. Hitherto the reserved powers of the states have been held to be only what has not been delegated by the Constitution to the federal government or not denied to the states. Since the treaty power is itself a delegated power no state could now claim as a reserved power anything within the range of the treaty power. By the Bricker amendment, however, treaties would no longer be part of the supreme law of the land the framers of the Constitution made them. By a strange twist state constitutions for the first time in our constitutional history would become superior to treaties unless Congress chose to intervene. The peril is that the Executive's negotiations with foreign nations, already extraordinarily difficult, will be hedged about by additional restrictions and this amid the tensions of the Atomic Age.

But all these constitutional issues are only the superfical indications of deep-seated conflicts of social forces. It is almost an axiom of politics that the dominant combinations of interests that constitute our political parties in any era will stake its fortunes on that organ of government which it believes will be most apt to serve its interests best. The Whig Party of the 1930s put its trust in Congress and spent its strength in vain battling the executive power as exercised by Andrew Jackson. The Whigs damned the veto as exercised by Jackson whose adherents proclaimed him a "tribune of the people." The present Republican Party is the heir of the Whigs and for over a century now the industrial-finance-transportation complex of interests has discountenanced

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strong executives. When, during the Civil War, a visitor at the capital asked crabbed old Thaddeus Stevens to introduce him to a Lincoln Congressman, he led him to one and remarked, "Here is the only Lincoln Congressman I know." In the midst of the Presidential campaign of 1864 the Republican majority leaders of the two houses of Congress let loose the furious blast against their own party candidate, Lincoln, in the Wade-Davis manifesto declaring that "the authority of Congress is paramount and if he [Lincoln] wishes our support he must confine himself to his executive duties—to obey and to execute, not to make laws." It is significant that Theodore Roosevelt, the only other outstanding strong Republican President, had no happier time with his party than Lincoln. The Republican complex of interests has a dogma set forth more than 60 years ago by Sen. John Sherman in a letter to President-elect Benjamin Harrison: "The President should have no policy distinct from that of his party and that is better represented in Congress than in the Executive." That is just as certainly a dominant Republican dogma today as it was in 1888 which indeed the events of the last several weeks abundantly demonstrate. The current trend shows a persistent determination of Congress to seize and keep the initiative and thereby subordinate the President.

Congressional leadership in formulating public policies may have been tolerable even if inappropriate in the 1880s but it is scarcely so in an era of continuous international crises. Congress inevitably is and always has been "a broken mirror in which the nation cannot recognize its image." It is inherently incapable of producing an integrated view of the nation's will, and this is particularly true of the House of Representatives. It is significant that only one President has ever come directly to that office from the House of Representatives, James A. Garfield, whose short three months before being invalided by Gutteau's bullet gave him no adequate chance to demonstrate executive ability. Today the representative nature of Congress is distorted by the under-representation of urban population and by the seniority rule which gives control to Speakers and committee chairmen from practically one-party districts with an almost uniformly conservative bias. Congress is an indispensable organ of government, giving the nation the views of the neighborhoods, but it can never be an organ with that unity of thought and capacity to acquire an integrated view of the whole that a President alert to the grand opportunity his office affords him can give. If the center of gravity of the federal government is to pass decisively to Congress with its peculiar susceptibility to pressures, it means a field day for interests such for example as the oil companies determined to accomplish the transfer of off-shore oil rights to the states. President Eisenhower might well take to heart Calvin Coolidge's observation: "It is because in their hours of timidity the Congress becomes subservient to the importunities of organized minorities that the President comes more and more to stand as the champion of the rights of the whole country."

What is to become of the harrassed Executive branch and particularly the State Department—under the persistent fusillade of determined Senators? With Senator McCarthy seizing and holding the initiative and apparently determining dismissals and reinstatements, with Senators Mundt and Bridges insisting that every career specialist who was under Acheson, hundreds of them, must be dismissed, the department's morale sinks lower and lower and is reported to have struck an all time low. Not within the memory of anyone living has a President done so little to protect the Executive branch of the government as the present one.

And only the President can protect the Executive branch. The Constitution has equipped him with adequate power. The present difficulty lies in President Eisenhower's political inexperience. No matter how high-minded he is and well-intentioned he is nonetheless handicapped by a lack of knowledge of the history of the great office he fills. He is face to face with forces resolutely determined to cut the Presidency down to size or even emasculate it. In the absence of political experience of his own he must perforce depend upon the advice of others. He can get almost none from his cabinet. The nine millionaires are almost as innocent of political realities as he is. The Presidential staff he selected is almost utterly unfamiliar with the game of politics as it is played in Washington. He came to the Presidency with a prestige fortified by a decisive popular majority. But only the politically expert can exploit this precious resource. Strong Presidents have fortified their power by judicious distribution of patronage, but that too requires an expert know-how and the handling of the patronage is now creating confusion instead of power.

The President is said to be somewhat awed by Congress and that too was to have been expected. If that is true no clarion call of the President can be expected to rally the public as a counterbalance. Unfortunately there is no outstanding Eisenhower man among the leaders in Congress. Perforce he must turn to Senator Taft who has been rescuing the President from his own inexperienced Cabinet members. By rallying hesitant Republican Senators, Taft saved from near disaster the Bohlen nomination as ambassador to Russia. Under the circumstances it can scarcely be said that the President stands securely on his own feet. For no matter how magnanimously Senator Taft may come to the aid of his erstwhile rival there can be no question as to where the center of gravity in the national government is now located.

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LITERATURE AND THE ARTS

A MAJOR INFLUENCE IN WESTERN THOUGHT

by Kathleen Raine

THE FIRST VOLUME of the Bollingen edition of Jung's collected works is appropriately the study of Alchemy, long awaited in English translation as a major work of the author's mature period. The second volume is to be a revised and re-translated version of *The Psychology of the Unconscious*, first published in English in 1915. Jung's contribution to the thought of this country, extending over forty years, is a major influence, perhaps

PSYCHOLOGY AND ALCHEMY, by C. G. Jung (Pantheon – Bollingen Series; $5.50).

a turning point in Western thought. Freud it is true must always be regarded as the discoverer of the symbol-making activities of the human unconscious; but, curiously blind to the importance of the religions and arts of mankind, Freud saw dream-symbols as above all thoughts disguised. It was Jung who recognized the symbolic language, whether in dream or in poetry, as directed towards the discovery and communication, not the concealment, of truths known to the unconscious mind. Freud was above all a doctor; Jung (whose theory of the unconscious is in the tradition of Socrates for whom all learning is a process of remembering), certainly has made a greater contribution to a new understanding of the nature of religion and the workings of the imagination, than to medical science as such. To Freud, the symbolic systems of art and religion are pearls whose only value is the easing of the itch produced by the grain of sand in the oyster; Jung insists that

> such things have been practiced from time immemorial by adults whose activities cannot possibly be explained as a mere regression to infantilism. Otherwise the highest and most important achievements of mankind would ultimately be nothing but the perverted wishes of children.

Robert Graves recently made an attack upon Jung on the grounds of inadequate scholarship in the field of mythology. Mr. Graves might be right about this, and yet beside the point. Jung wrote many years ago of those who "fathom the paradoxes of primitive religious ideas 'ethnologically' or as a matter of the 'comparative history of religions'," that "this is the Western way of hiding one's own heart under the cloak of so-called scientific understanding. . . . An understanding that reaches the feelings might allow contact with the foreign spirit to become a serious experience." Much of our best scholarship, Jung would say, is of this kind; and Robert Graves himself an example of that displacement of understanding into one faculty (the intellect) that Jung sets out to combat. Graves, from a Jungian point of view, might be said to know everything about the gods except their divinity, for this no scholarship will reveal, but only a re-opening of those unconscious regions of the self to which the gods are native —"the true man," as Blake long ago said, being the source of all pantheons, or as Jung would say, the archetypes.

Jung is above all a constructive thinker. His book on Alchemy may in this respect be compared with the scholarly work of A. E. Waite, who seems to have felt a mission upon him to deny that alchemical symbolism had any application beyond the making of gold, at least until the end of the sixteenth century, when, with Boehme, the spiritual evolution is too obvious to be denied. Alchemy originated in the rogueries of Alexandrian goldsmiths; in the course of many centuries of misdirected effort, a few practical discoveries were incidentally made, by some of these deluded enthusiasts. If this is true, alchemy is so much the less interesting. What does not fit into his theory, Waite dismisses as belonging to "the world of dreamland," little suspecting that this phrase was to play into the hands of Jung, whose major work makes precisely this point—that alchemical symbolism and dream symbolism alike originate in the human unconscious. Jung's book consists of a detailed comparison between the symbolism of dreams during a process of integration that led one particular dreamer to a sense of enlightenment; and the parallel symbols and stages of alchemical transmutation. "It always remains an obscure point whether the ultimate transformations in the alchemical process are to be sought more in the material or more in the spiritual realm. . . . " Yet "the question is wrongly put, there was no 'either-or' for that age, but there did exist an intermediate realm between mind and matter." We have come very near to a turning-point today, Jung argues, when the psychic and the physical will once more be considered as a unity. It is not that the alchemists believed on theoretical grounds in a correspondence between mind and matter: "projection is never made, it happens, it is simply there." The alchemist "experienced the projection as a property of matter, but what he was in reality experiencing was his own unconscious." I find confirmation of Jung's view in Michael Roberts' *The Modern Mind*, where he writes of Basil Valentine, Flamel and Norton: "It is difficult to say whether the works are to be taken as narratives of chemical experiments, as allegorical morality, as symbolic poetry, or as a combination of all three."

Something more than a weakness for ingenious ambiguity made men cling to such a world view: "it gave them a sense of unity and harmony in all things, a vision of a triune world where each material thing was the type and symbol of some more spiritual reality." The satisfaction gained by the alchemists in the spiritual order did not, however, long survive the abandonment of the chemical studies; Kuhnrath and Boehme were at once the fine flower and the end of the tradition; and it seems relevant

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to ask how much value there is in any symbolism once it is abstracted from sensible objects. Certainly Jung makes no suggestion that alchemical symbolism should be revived: on the contrary, his point is that the process goes on—in dreams for example—all the time.

There is no doubt that Jung see himself as a religious reformer, and indeed the effect of his thought both within and outside the Church has already been so immense that it seems that Zurich is once more the center of a Reformation. The present work opens with an introduction addressed "to the religious", criticizing Christian orthodoxy for putting "all God outside," with consequent debasement of the soul. Christian civilization, with its emphasis on an external deity, has proved hollow "to a terrifying degree," because it has left the inner man untouched. Those for whom the "kingdom of heaven is within" will understand the importance Jung attaches to the organic generation by the soul of its own symbols, alike in dreams, poetry, and alchemy. Since the process must be lived through, the symbols that will be valid can no more be foreseen in advance than can our dreams, and yet for each individual, dream and vision must necessarily be truth in its purest form.

For all their diversity of symbolism, alchemists were in unanimous agreement about the process they were describing, unanimity that is in striking contrast with the contentions that have accompanied religious forms externally enforced. The alchemists regarded themselves as Christian, and their *lapis* was clearly identified with Christ. The death and rebirth of the "king of the sea," mystical marriages, heavenly ladders, suns and moons and fountains of living water, the spirit mercurous that animates all matter, were obscure as dreams are obscure, but there was no deliberate disguise of secret doctrine. Each worked for himself, as poets do, by the light of his own understanding. Yet it is hard to believe that if Jung's findings had been published during the sixteenth century, the Church would have regarded these seekers for "the god within" with much favor.

Nevertheless Jung has found no less support among Catholics than elsewhere, perhaps because they best know the bankruptcy of external symbols in the present age, and see in Jung's insistence on an inner transmutation the best hope of giving new meaning to religion in the west. Thus slowly are we coming to understand truths long ago taken for granted in the religiously civilized world of India and China. Jung has perceived where our next step must take us. His findings are nothing new to mystics like Meister Eckhart or Blake; but it is no small thing that a bridge should have been built from the scientific side of the rift in western thought between rational and imaginative knowledge. Jung has been the agent of an irreversible development in western religious thought.

THE INTELLECTUAL IN POLITICS

by Perry Miller

THIS ACCOUNT, written by one long associated with Harold Laski, gives a curious effect of remoteness which is not lessened by Mr. Martin's occasional use of his own memories. I can't quite make out why it seems to use the wrong end of the telescope unless it is that Mr. Martin compresses the period between Laski's return to London, 1920, and the beginning of the War—when as teacher and writer Laski was especially fruitful—into a short and unchronological summary. Thereafter he concentrates upon the brief five years after 1945; these were a bitter, and as the event proved tragic, time, but the Laski who went through them was he who achieved the stature and significance to which Mr. Martin pays, it seems to me, barely more than lip service.

HAROLD LASKI, by Kingsley Martin (Viking; $4).

Laski was a power of sorts in the Labour Party, and so his activities while the Party was in office are material for history; furthermore the fiasco of his suit for libel against the *Newark Advertiser* does become, in the perspective created by his sudden death, the climax of his life. But the real importance of Laski was his mind, the play of ideas, the inexhaustible freshness of his curiosity, his wit, his irony. His intellectual march from pluralism to Marxism is a portent which none can disregard, especially as in his Marxist phase he was anything but the doctrinaire. He never abated his passion for freedom, his sense of humor, and his penchant for calling a spade a spade. We do not want Mr. Martin to write mere eulogy, and he is as frank about some of the more annoying of Laski's traits as Laski would require his friends to be; even so, I have difficulty recognizing in these pages the man whom I and hundreds of others knew and loved.

The book does gratifyingly fill in details which even Laski's close associates seldom knew—or knew only indirectly—because, as Mr. Martin makes clear, he was so little interested in self, in the ordinary human fashion, that even when seeming most egotistical he really talked astonishingly little about himself. His "romances" always had an end in view. Mr. Martin tells, for instance, how intensely Hebraic were the conditions of his boyhood, and helps us to appreciate just what the shock was when he, who had put Judaism aside and cast himself in the role of an English rhetorician, encountered at last an anti-Semitism which persisted in making him a target. Mr. Martin also supplies so astute a pattern of the intramural struggles of the Labour Party that the delicate position of Laski among the factions becomes comprehensible. It assists our understanding the issue, which for Laski was that of the intellectual in politics, who controlled no block of votes, no trade union, no machine, who had only his ideas and his intransigence with which to bargain, and who won at least as often as he lost because of his moral integrity. History will no doubt agree with Mr. Martin that he should have resigned from the Executive long before he

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brought himself to do so, but it was an excruciating decision.

Inevitably a narrative so constructed focuses upon the climatic libel suit. Mr. Martin seems (though he is not too precise) to support Laski's own after-reflection, that he should have known that the courts would find against a man of his views. For the impact of the experience, Mr. Martin allows Laski to speak for himself, through a haunting manuscript left on his desk and through a poignant letter to Felix Frankfurter:

> I did not know what a grim thing it is to be harried endlessly by reporters and photographers, to be the continuous victim of mean gossip, even to be pointed out by people on the street, and to have full meetings because the crowd likes to see the acrobat fall from the fire.

There is more to be said, and possibly Mr. Martin is not to be blamed for withholding the saying. This child of the Enlightenment, this *philosophe* born out of his time, here encountered something so like radical evil that he had few means, intellectual or spiritual, for coping with it. The suffering he endured calls for deeper, though not of course for any sentimental, treatment.

Mr. Martin's sections on Laski's life in America, either at Harvard or on later expeditions, are factually meagre, although he confesses that America, both as attraction and repulsion, played an immense part in the career. American opinion will, no doubt, look most askance upon Mr. Martin's discussion of *The American Democracy;* he admits it has been accused of *a priorism,* of trying "to squeeze American phenomena into the Procrustean bed of a quasi-Marxist and European outlook." The serious reservations entertained even by those most sympathetic toward the book are of another order, and pertain rather to its scholarship than to its thesis. A convinced partisan of the English Labour Party had every right to contend that American Labor alone could save the tradition of democracy by organizing itself into a political force. That Laski's book has had, or is likely to have, little effect is not so much because its thesis is invalid as because it smothers the thesis in a fog of words and platitudes which prevent the point from emerging with force or clarity.

Nevertheless, Mr. Martin recounts the thesis, leaving the impression that he feels recent developments in American politics have confirmed it. These did indeed, up to 1950, deepen Laski's anxiety about the future of freedom in this country; Mr. Martin's account makes *The American Democracy* not the focus for such discussions as many of us held with Laski, but a reinforcement for the line we have lately encountered in *The New Statesman and Nation.*

All this persistently obscures the fact that the meaning of Laski is not any book he wrote, but the fact that he wrote much and talked more, all of which was constantly full of a promise hugely exhilerating because it was not—could not—be fulfilled. He should, we all agree, have written that immense book on political theory of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; as Mr. Martin says, he had every right to count on another fifteen years.

And yet, a man who expends himself as extravagantly as did Laski has no right to expect anything beyond the admiration and affection he excited in a hundred regions of the globe—along with, to be sure, much hostility. Mr. Martin's narrative documents both the attraction and the enmity; it is the record of one of the major careers of our time—yet a career which deserves, I am persuaded, a more perceptive and understanding analysis than this.

A NOVELIST'S LIVES

WILLA CATHER, *A Critical Biography*, by E. K. Brown, completed by Leon Edel (Knopf; $4). WILLA CATHER LIVING, *A Personal Record*, by Edith Lewis (Knopf; $3).

THE CIRCUMSTANCES under which *Willa Cather, A Critical Biography* was published are more exceptional than those which surround most "official" biographies. Miss Edith Lewis, Miss Cather's close friend since their first meeting in 1903, was her literary executrix. In searching for a scholar to write a full-scale biography, Miss Lewis turned to E. K. Brown, then a professor at the University of Chicago. In 1946 he had written for the *Yale Review* an article entitled "Homage to Willa Cather" which pleased its subject and led to an animated exchange of letters between the author and her future biographer, though they never met.

When Professor Brown began his congenial labors he found that he must work under one severe handicap. Disliking publicity as she did and believing in the artist's right to privacy, Miss Cather left an "unqualified prohibition of the publication in any form whatsoever of the whole or any part of any letter or letters written by me." Professor Brown was permitted to extract the essence of the letters but the consequent obliqueness of reference gives to his work, of necessity, a certain remoteness, a sound of "voices dying with a dying fall, beneath the music from a farther room." To bring up the volume of these voices Miss Lewis prepared for his aid a memoir of *Willa Cather Living.*

Professor Brown died in 1951 before he finished his work. It was taken up by his friend Leon Edel, who skillfully completed the sections on the Pittsburgh years and the final years and filled out the text in other places from notes which Brown had gathered. If Mr. Edel had not been so scrupulous in explaining his part in this collaboration, the reader would scarcely be aware of his tailoring.

To a considerable degree, Mr. Brown overcame the handicap imposed on him by Miss Cather's will. He corresponded with people who knew her in the early years and interviewed still others. In the biographical parts his account of her childhood in Virginia, her girlhood in Nebraska, her slow coming of age in Pittsburgh (these years stretched out to a decade) is crowded with members of the family, teachers, new friends, journalists, musicians and other artists who influenced both her life and her art. From this point on the biographical sections become paler. One cannot say, from such evidence as the book affords, whether Mr. Brown leaned too exclusively on Miss Lewis' useful *vade mecum* or whether Miss Cather had closed her life to all but a select few.

After 1922—the year when "the

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world broke in two for Willa Cather"—she grew increasingly distressed about the vulgarity of modern America and turned to the heroism on earlier times—in *A Lost Lady, Death Comes for the Archbishop,* and *Shadows on the Rock.* So far as one can judge, she made no contact with the younger generation of writers, who were emerging just as she became famous. Though we must take Mr. Brown's word for it that she kept "all her interest in what was written by those who seemed to her genuine artists, Ernest Hemingway, Thornton Wilder, Scott Fitzgerald, and somewhat to one's suprise, Sinclair Lewis," we cannot make much sense of his contradictory statement that "the new paths of fiction in the 1930s did not seem to her to lead anywhere worth going." At any rate there is nothing here to show that she gave younger writers the kind of encouragement which Miss Jewett had once offered her, at a critical moment in her career.

Mr. Brown is adept in describing the genesis of the Cather stories and novels—the incidents which gave rise to them and the persons who served as models for her characters. Far more than I had realized, she transcribed from life, sometimes to the annoyance of her originals. Even in her quasi-historical novels she projected into Laval's Quebec or Brother Latour's Santa Fé her intense admiration for the pioneers who built and who brought with them to America the standards and values of the Old World, which she herself so greatly loved. In this respect, rather than in his critical judgments of Miss Cather's writing, Mr. Brown has much to offer. He defines clearly the stages in her inner life which determined changes of course in her fiction.

Although a good share of Miss Lewis' *Willa Cather Living* has been incorporated in the biography, we have reason to be glad that Mr. Knopf persuaded her to let him publish her manuscript. The memoir is seamless, though the writer had to reach back to the years before the two friends met. It is, of course, interesting to note where the friend and the biographer differ. Miss Lewis did not perceive, for instance, how complex were Miss Cather's relations to her Nebraska years and why so much time had to pass before she could use her memories of them. It is true, as she says, that "no one had ever found Nebraska beautiful until Willa Cather wrote about it." But what Miss Lewis misses here and Mr. Brown saw is that, like her pioneers, Willa Cather had to subdue Nebraska; to remove from her memory the rank weeds of cultural deprivation and of poverty which she had known in her own life and seen in the lives of others. That is why her first novel about this neglected land did not appear until she was forty.

WILLARD THORP

MASTER OF THE RAKE

ARNOLD BENNETT, by Reginald Pound (Harcourt, Brace; $5.75).

LIKE ALMOST EVERY book imported from England, this biography comes with the praise of Elizabeth Bowen, who seems to write blurbs the way Rockefeller passed out dimes. In America it has been welcomed with dapper extravagance by Peter Quennell in *The New York Times* and hailed as nothing less than "wonderful" by V. S. Pritchett in *The New Yorker.* While waltzing around the book with the skittish grace of a gallant who finds that his partner has a runny nose, Pritchett placed Bennett as "a sort of George Eliot without the moral backbone"—a remark that is either a colossal boner or, if one inclines to charity, impressively meaningless.

That there should now be a renewal of interest in Bennett is a healthy sign, though the cultural amnesia which makes such "revivals" necessary is far from a healthy sign. Yet the first thing that must be said about Mr. Pound's book is that, despite its mass of information, it is a poor job. His writing is grey, his sense of organization is dim, and his principle of selection invisible. He is a master at raking together barely irrelevant details, and a great name-dropper too, apparently working on the theory that an accumulation of proper nouns makes for a subject.

Nonetheless, Bennett's story is so remarkable and in its ending so tragic that one reads the book patiently waiting for the facts to tumble out, one sprawling over the other. Bennett's life followed the classical pattern of the novel about the Young Man from the Provinces. Raised in the dingy Six Towns, with their ebbing craftsmanship in pottery and their Methodist earnestness, "I'm going to get out of this," said Bennett, just as if he were a Stendhal character—he plunged into London, clerking, hacking in the caverns of journalism and finally turning out novels at a rate that makes Dumas seem an idler. For a happy moment he satisfied the semi-literate public and the serious readers of his day. He wrote highly-paid articles on "Is Human Nature Improving?" and "Should Women Ride Astride?" while becoming the friend of André Gide; he bought a yacht and, clucks Mr. Pound, continued to "class" with "gas"; his taste was uncultivated yet he was among the first Englishmen to appreciate Eliot, Dreiser and Faulkner.

Writing became both psychological tic and physical necessity; he measured his wordage like a shopkeeper counting the day's take; he admired Balzac for having exhausted himself at the writing-table. "That is how I want to work—to pour it out in vast quantities, pell-mell, vast, immense, various. But I can't for the ridiculous reason that I get tired. . . ." In his last years, when he was staggering under literary chores, financial worries and an excruciating neuralgia he noted in his Journal: "Total of words for the year, 353,250. Not bad."

In many ways his life was an ordeal. His marriage had been a painful failure, and his later companionship with a young actress was a constant strain. Official duties, personal kindnesses, articles, tours, private manias (a note to his wife: "When the red bedroom is not occupied the windows of its bathroom etc., must be shut and blinds drawn. It was not done on Saturday night"), endless anxiety about money ("If you've ever really been poor," he told Maugham, "you remain poor at heart all your life")—these all took their toll. His last years—and here Mr. Pound's book does snap into focus—were a nightmare: a struggle with incessant tiredness, an aggravation of the speech dif-

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ficulty that had plagued him all his life, a fear he was losing his grip on the public, and most disastrous of all: an unwillingness to give up his role. On his deathbed he murmured to his companion: "Everything has gone *wrong*, my girl." He knew.

Mr. Pound does not so much present or interpret this material as dump it onto one with a large generosity; his supply of facts is immense and he is not the man to withhold any.

One happy result is that the book contains large slices of Bennett's letters. On almost everything but literary craftsmanship his opinions were pedestrian but on the mechanical divisions of a novel or "a judicious arrangement of paragraphs" he was frequently instructive. His description of a character in one of Wells' novels is both brilliant and of more than local relevance: "Mr. Lewisham is an arrangement to suit the necessities of a convention; and here and there he bears a resemblance to a man." And when Bennett wrote to Wells, "I sit at your feet in many things, but when I open my mouth on the art and craft of your trade, it behoves you to listen," the pride was open and earned.

Nowhere does Mr. Pound try a sustained criticism of Bennett's novels. He calls Bennett "a major novelist," but one has no sure sense as to whether he means that Bennett is the peer of George Eliot (with or without the backbone) or, say, of Graham Greene. He describes *The Old Wives' Tale* and *Clayhanger* as Bennett's "great" novels but offers no criticism by which to test this judgment. This is a pity since the amount of serious criticism devoted to Bennett is negligible —he is certainly a more promising subject than still another effort to squeeze a symbol out of Henry James. During the past few decades Bennett, together with Wells and Galsworthy, has been airily dismissed, usually in behalf of the "revolution in sensibility" that is associated with the names of Joyce and Lawrence. Perhaps this was inevitable, but now that this "revolution" has been safely domesticated there is no reason why one cannot enjoy and value both Bennett and Lawrence, Wells and Joyce, each at his proper level. Nothing in our literary life is more parochial and more discouraging than the urge to dismiss a good second-rank writer by invoking the name of a master.

It may be said in Mr. Pound's behalf that he has written a biography rather than a critical study, but this distinction seems to be flimsy. The most important events in a writer's life are the books he writes, and it is they, rather than his finances or his women, that justify biographical reconstruction. A biography of a novelist which ignores his novels seems to me as pointless as a biography of Don Juan which ignores his love affairs. But Mr. Pound, worthy English middle-brow that he is, has not been tempted into the sticky regions of criticism. He has his values, and every right to them. Listing the numerous professions at which he believes Bennett might have succeeded, Mr. Pound adds, with a flourish of sincere generosity, "He would have made a good college president." IRVING HOWE

QUEER CHARACTERS

THE LEGENDARY MIZNERS: *A Portrait*, by Alva Johnston (Farrar, Straus and Young; $3.75).

ALVA JOHNSTON, who died three years ago, was I believe the inventor of the brief, humorous, biographical sketch which achieves its effect by the dead-pan juxtaposition of incongruous elements. He did it better than any of his imitators, and he is beginning to be recognized belatedly as the possessor of an authentic comic talent. His last volume, made up from sketches that he wrote over a period of years in *The New Yorker* about Addison and Wilson Mizner, is one of the funniest books in years.

The Mizners, brothers who flourished in the early decades of this century, were ideally suited to the Johnston treatment, having the combination of rascality and eccentricity that always appealed to him. Addison was a self-taught architect, fantastically successful for a few years in the booming twenties; he was always skating perilously over the fact that he didn't know how to make blueprints, and was famous for invariably forgetting some detail in each new house, such as a stairway to the second story or a door to the bathroom. Wilson, a few years his junior, was an authentic scalawag who scorned to earn a dollar honestly if he could think of an illegitimate technique for acquiring one, as he practically always could. His history embraced a broad pattern of American cities, from all of which he departed just ahead of someone with a shotgun or handcuffs.

The careers of the brothers finally coalesced in Florida's great boom. Addison built and furnished fake Spanish houses for oil millionaires, and Wilson helped him to rake in the money through a multiplicity of sideshows. Johnston did a heroic amount of research on that fantastic era, when real-estate offices in Miami stayed open all night and everything in Florida doubled in value every twenty-four hours; nobody else has studied the period so intensively and quite possibly no one else will ever be able to do so, since printed records are not voluminous and many of the eyewitnesses are dying off.

The last thing Johnston would want to be called is a social historian; but in his own special way, that is what he was.

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BRUCE BLIVEN

ARE ECONOMISTS HUMAN?

ECONOMIC ESSAYS, by R. F. Harrod (Harcourt, Brace; $4.50).

NOT LONG AGO, that austere journal, *The London Economist*, asked the question in its lead article "Are Economists Human?" After careful consideration humanity was conceded to the profession, despite the language and the logic which it employs. This episode comes to mind because some of Mr. Harrod's essays support the suspicion that the *Economist* gave the wrong answer to its own question. For the group of essays which centers on imperfect competition, combines precise language, sustained abstraction and elegant diagrams in a manner which compels both admiration and fright. Only the reader of exceptional stamina will perceive that Mr. Harrod is analysing advertising, monopoly, restraint of trade, and prices, all subjects of great topical interest. No one could claim that he stoops to popularization.

Life is easier when Mr. Harrod discusses employment. Here Mr. Harrod, the author of a fine biography of the late Lord Keynes, proves himself a faithful follower of his master, concerned at once to get Keynes' meaning straight and to pursue some of its many implications. He makes a highly original attempt to synthesize the classical theory of productivity and the Keynesian theory of employment. Can we have rapid economic progress and personal security? To this question he can give no definitive answer.

Can an economist act like a theorist when the subject is woman? Perhaps not if we take our guide Mr. Harrod's evidence before the Royal Commission on equal pay for women. In this paper, he gives a model demonstration of how a first rate theorist can erect a beautifully designed structure of logic upon the foundation of a very few facts and statistics. The analysis proves to its author's satisfaction that differentials between men's and women's wages reflect differences in efficiency. Mr. Harrod applauds his result on non-economic grounds. Would not equal pay discourage women from becoming mothers and would not England suffer in consequence?

The reader need not be a woman or a member of that new sex, a man who has read Simone de Beauvoir's *The Second Sex*, to feel a sense of shock at this point and to recollect suddenly how few facts of difference between men and women Mr. Harrod has produced, how masculinely complacent his attitude has been, and to wonder whether Mr. Harrod's economic analysis did not flow from his other ideas. Have conclusions preceded analysis? Has sentence preceded trial? Has Mr. Harrod behaved like a human being? The answer to all three questions seems to be "Yes."

Mr. Harrod, economist and human being, provides for the patient reader a collection of ideas located at the very fringe of economic theory. His language is vigorous and his style highly individual. This is a book designed for the person curious about what economists are going to do next as well as what they have done already.

ROBERT LEKACHMAN

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THE ERA OF THE 3-D'S

THAT PART of history which is the motion picture is demonstrably dialectical, not to say also (I quote) "unequal." The stereoptican illusion that was a pastime of our great grandfathers is about to become, in tri-dimensional movies, an overwhelming rival of Television in the sphere of optical susceptibility. As mentioned from the platform by a spokesman for Twentieth-Century-Fox, whose 3-D product is CinemaScope, the newest invention in motion pictures is aimed at counteracting "the unequal competition of Television," which means that, without paying so much as an extra nickel, you could, and can, stay home and be visually and aurally entertained by the Television screen—on which, of course, old-fashioned 2-D movies are sometimes cast. What the 3-D's in the theatre will compete with, therefore, is the feeling via Television of getting something for nothing rather than with any actually optical pleasure from Television; and also, perhaps, with the charm of the lazy option of turning-a-dial on a passing impulse.

As to esthetic quality in the optical image, Television assuredly gives the movies, as yet, no competition at all. To prefer TV home entertainment to sitting in a movie house is implicitly to decide that the function of the eyes is confined to registering images, whereas the visual arts, one need hardly note, require the eyes to do more than just see. The assumption, of course, that art has anything to do with the entertainment industry is gratuitous. Yet the term, art of the motion picture, is as old as the century and has, dubious though it be, an accrued currency-value in the idiom of motion picture criticism. If the movie industry hesitates to boast of its "art," it is because the term is suspect in the popular vocabulary. But there are ready-made and utile substitutes: "spectacle," "entertainment," and that definitive, all-purpose adjective, "great."

The shyest partisan of the 3-D's is apt to launch out with almost any term that has been complimentarily used for the film product, only now inevitably bigger and better than before. In two of the

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new products that have been sampled to date, Cinerama and CinemaScope, the wide-angle lens provides a triple-screen horizon (curved) approximating the real optical field commanded by the human eyes. The sensational advantage of this technical feat is neither factually nor theoretically in doubt. Mechanical means have simply brought "natural vision" to the service of entertainment in every type of film from newsreels to (and why not?) Shakespeare. When it is considered that 3-D has an illusion of "roundness," that is, of real depth, the logical claim—to borrow from the ads—is that indiscriminately a lovely lady or a lion can lurch or lunge into your lap.

Genuine artists accept a technical innovation, such as a new pigment or plastic element, as a challenge to esthetic possibility. As projected in technical terms, the panoramic spirit of motion pictures is not, however, strictly new. About three decades ago, Abel Gance, a French director, used a crude form of it (minus the depth-illusion) in his production, *Napoleon*. His technique meant only an outdoors and shifting equivalent of a large theatre-stage, and he composed his scenes accordingly. With the gradual filmic advance, since then, of close-up technique and image-definition, the scope of the wide-angle or triple-screen 3-D also gives us—and fairly near—actors moving from side to side of a large room. In the case of Warner's Natural Vision and Oboler's independent 3-D, the standard-sized screen is retained with the result that the roundness must be achieved with special eyeglasses. As irksome as these facial appurtenances are, the roundness bestowed by them seems more positive than that available to the naked eye in the other type. This is owing, first, to the former's greater overall compactness, forcing attention on the central and nearest image, and second, to its somewhat sharper stereoptican definition. The imagery of both, for technical reasons, remains *relatively* flat like cardboard figures placed in front of one another; what is emphasized, thus, is not the *object* (its solidity and volume) but the *empty space* in which it exists. Dangerous, one might say, for an art so spiritually thin.

Both stereoscopic types have stereophonic sound (i.e., sounds seem to originate from their true, visible and invisible, sources) as well as Technicolor or some other color-process. Thus, even if Television appears with color—as it seems about to do—the rivalry shapes up this way: Television is centripetal in relation to its spectator's axis, drawing the world into his domestic space, while 3-D movies are centrifugal in relation to their spectator's axis, drawing him out, collectively, into the world's space. The limited 3-D, requiring the eyeglasses, produces a tantalizing visual sensation: one seems to be in a dark tunnel at an uncertain distance from a large rectangular peephole beyond which, contracting and expanding, a somewhat unstable tri-dimensional space appears. These Arabian Nights magicians did not foresee the vicissitudes of the magic-carpet idea.

The psychic tension deriving from these new sensory experiences accordingly depends on a modification of the spectator's *passivity*. The implied esthetic problem is where the line is to be drawn between vicarious experience of the real world and that purely passive psychological state necessary to the experience of art. Aligned with this problem inversely is E. M. Forster's fantasy about life to be experienced in the future without moving from an armchair. Not only are the frontiers of esthetic experience challenged by stereoscopic vision but also put in question again (see the final sequence of *House of Wax*) is the disputed margin between pornography and artistic representation.

The ideal condition of the spectator implies the strict symbolic nature of the spectacle, signifying a taboo on any illusion of his active participation. In dance numbers, contrarily, the steroscopic screen seems to put us on the stage under the very feet of the dancers and in general the 3-D's bring apparently real persons within apparent touching distance. Despite the hypothesis of fiction and all the artificial conventions, the tri-dimensional screen favors a quasi-real world inviting the total participation of the senses. Dialectically, this may eventually enlarge the art of the motion picture. On the other hand, it may create a demand for stereolfactory odor and (much more difficult!) stereotactile touch.

Those lured away from Television, while being treated by the movies as usual to symbolic participation in seen and heard actions, also find the suggestion that they jump out from under the wheels of a racer about to smash up. It may take some time before a comfortable psychologic-esthetic adjustment can be made. Meanwhile the familiar artifice of the movies has acquired a fresh dimension; it renews, under special conditions, the eternal psychic tension in the individual between acceptance and rejection by the real world. There are odd possibilities in the operation of the general psyche. Atop a comicstrip mountain, Daisy Mae tragically observes Li'l Abner impaled below her on a needle-like peak. One half expects, the next moment, that one of her companions will reassure her: "That ain't stickin' through his *gizzard*, Daisy Mae, it's stickin' through his CINERAMA!" PARKER TYLER

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